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GDR Announces Warsaw Pact Summit for 11 Dec

LD090951 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0932 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 9 Dec ADN—A meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member states will take place in Berlin on 11 December 1987 in accordance with a mutual decision.

FRG Paper on Prospects

DW090945 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 9 Dec 87 p 1

[Karl-Heinz Baum report: "Further Disarmament Efforts in the East in Sight; Warsaw Pact Summit Meeting Friday in East Berlin?"]

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec—Immediately after the conclusion of the current summit meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, a Warsaw Pact summit meeting will take place in East Berlin, Western diplomatic circles in the GDR have said. According to this information, new disarmament proposals in tactical nuclear weapons and conventional weapons could be made.

Gorbachev's arrival is expected on Friday morning at Schoenefeld Airport near Berlin. It was said that the Warsaw Pact's Political Advisory Committee will meet as it did in late May. It is the highest body in the eastern alliance. General secretaries, government chiefs, and foreign and defense ministers are members of it.

The GDR Foreign Ministry is answering questions about the meeting with a "no comment." That is usually an indication that an official statement can be expected soon.

It was learned from Western diplomatic circles in East Berlin that GDR sources gave assurances that if everything worked out fine in Washington, disarmament talks would proceed immediately. It is considered possible that the Warsaw Pact nations will propose a package including complete disarmament of all tactical nuclear weapons (range 0-500 km) and concrete proposals to reconcile the imbalances.

The Political Advisory Committee had admitted the existence of conventional imbalances at the meeting in late May. Because this summit meeting will take place in East Berlin and not in Warsaw, far-reaching Warsaw Pact disarmament proposals are also expected.

'Further' Disarmament Steps

DW081844 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Announcer-read report]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact is said to be planning further disarmament steps in case the Washington summit comes out positively. That was learned from Western diplomatic sources in East Berlin. It is expected that Gorbachev, on his flight back from the United States, will come to East Berlin. Reportedly, it is planned to withdraw further Soviet troops from GDR territory.

Declaration Reports Key CW Issues 'Resolved'

AU041451 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Dec 87 p 2

[CTK report: "Important Step Toward Strengthening Peace; Declaration on Geneva Negotiations by the Press Spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Declaration of the press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the negotiations of the Committee for Chemical Weapons of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva:

The Committee for Chemical Weapons has reopened its negotiations at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. The negotiations are meant to prepare an international accord on the general and total ban on chemical weapons, and on eliminating the stockpiling of them. The key issues, including those of verification, have been successfully resolved. Dusan Rovensky, the press spokesman of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared that now the main thing is to work out the technical aspects of destroying chemical weapons and the industrial base for their production; to elaborate the methods of preventing the production of chemical weapons by civilian chemical industry; and, above all, to work out the verification mechanism.

These issues can be resolved and the text of the accord prepared in a relatively short time, provided all participants in the Geneva conference have the appropriate political will.

The participating states should not undertake any steps which could complicate a speedy achievement of mutually acceptable agreements or slow it down. The CSSR is prepared to do its utmost to help accelerate the elaboration of the text of the accord. We are convinced that the negotiations can already be realistically concluded in 1987.

The CSSR is also interested in speeding up the regional solution of the issues by creating a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe. This would significantly contribute toward achieving a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, the press spokesman of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed.

Reaction to Signing of Missile Treaty

Zhivkov Greets Gorbachev, Reagan

AU091238 Sofia BTA in English 1201 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, sent a cable to Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU, and Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. The cable reads: "The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the entire Bulgarian people greet warmly the signing of the treaty for elimination of the Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles.

"This treaty between the two great states is a historical victory of political realism and the will for achievement of a reasonable compromise in the solution of mankind's most important problem: its survival.

"The treaty itself is the greatest achievement up till now in the sphere of disarmament, which undoubtedly will promote the development of dialogue and understanding between the East and the West, will further raise mutual trust and will strengthen security in Europe and in the world. At the same time we view the treaty as an initial step toward relieving of mankind from nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, as an impetus for the achievement of even more significant agreements in the sphere of strategic offensive weapons in the conditions of secure guarantees for strategic stability.

"We believe sincerely that the historical act which we witnessed will mark the transition to a future demilitarized world, a world without fear and violence, a world of all-round cooperation and harmonious development of all countries and peoples."

BTA Calls Treaty 'Historic'

AU091423 Sofia BTA in English 1333 GMT 9 Dec 87

["Looking Backward With Optimism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (Boyan Traykov—BTA)—Last night, as I watched on TV Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr Ronald Reagan sign the treaty on the elimination of intermediate and shorter range missiles, I was deeply moved. I had the vision of Soviet-American flight piercing through the somber atmosphere heavy with mistrust and insults, breaking free and rising above secretive and hostile thinking, rushing into another world: clear, serene, and peaceful. Despite all twists and turns, despite all ups and downs, no matter how hard it was, the flight still overcame the gravity of stereotype hard-line political moods to enter a new world. A world, conceived and foreseen by Lenin: the world of peaceful coexistence, sought today by all human beings. Will there be some more such Soviet-American flights, will we locate this world of peace and settle there for ever?

As of the historic date December 8, 1987, hope is not just a dream, it is already reality. The first actual nuclear disarmament treaty gives us grounds for trust and for still greater perseverance and courage in the efforts to secure a nuclear-free 21st century for mankind.

Naturally, our belief does not stem only from the fact of the treaty. It is grounded above all in the conviction that a great change has been brought about and a new force has made itself felt, a force which engendered and spurs on the process of realism and wisdom in international relations: The change and the new force of the Soviet Union. The restructuring in the Soviet Union, the development of the enormous socioeconomic capabilities of the Soviet society and the relations of new political thinking, carried out by the Soviet Union, have upgraded beyond measure its prestige and positions in international life and have given its say much greater weight and influence. In this treaty, we see the first great international triumph of new political thinking and of the Soviet "perestroyka", the first and triumphant step along the road toward security and peace on the planet.

Those who witness great events do not usually assess them on all their historical merits. Perhaps, overjoyed as we are, we, too, cannot imagine and rationalize in full measure the fateful implications of the deed that the first nuclear disarmament treaty has done. But I am convinced that sometime in the future, and it is my firm belief that such time will come, when the last nuclear missiles and bombs in the world will be eliminated, people all over the world will celebrate and bless this day as the beginning.

Let us be optimists and look on this day through the eyes of the succeeding generations.

Hungary's Berecz Pays Visit, Holds Talks

AU091201 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 87 p 4

[Text] Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a working visit to our country from 2 to 4 December 1987.

He held talks with Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and with Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. He also visited the Sofia Oblast BCP Committee.

At the meetings information was exchanged on the two parties' ideological work under the conditions of the restructuring process. Opportunities for intensifying cooperation in the ideological sector were discussed.

The talks proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Comrade Janos Berecz laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum.

The guest departed from our country yesterday. He was seen off by Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov.

Gyula Gyovay, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic, was among those present at the airport.

Aleksandrov Meets PCF Leaders in Paris

AU081820 Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 8 Dec 87

["BCP-PCF: In the Name of Friendship and Fraternal Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Paris, December 8 (BTA corr.)—Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, who headed the BCP CC delegation to the 26th Congress of the French Communist Party, met the members of the Politburo of the CC of the PCF, Mr Gaston Plissonnier, Ms Madeleine Vincent and Mr Henri Krasucki, and had talks with Mr Maxime Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the PCF.

On behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, the delegate of the Bulgarian Communists expressed the conviction that the relations between the two fraternal parties will continue to develop in the name of the intransient Marxist-Leninist principles of internationalism and communist and workers' solidarity.

Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov delivered to the newly elected leadership of the PCF, headed by Secretary General Georges Marchais, best wishes for a successful implementation of the strategic and tactical tasks of the French Communists included in the political resolution of the 26th congress and in the new programme of the party.

The leader of the BCP CC delegation acquainted his hosts with the processes of profound reconstruction in the life and work of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Mr Maxime Gremetz and Mr Gaston Plissonnier expressed their firm belief in the success of socialist construction in Bulgaria and of the implementation of the large-scale plans and programmes mapped out by the 13th Congress of the BCP and the BCP CC plenums which followed it for the development of Bulgaria on the revolutionary course of building the new society on which she embarked more than four decades ago.

Zhivkov Attends Opening of National Assembly

AU091332 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 9 December carries a 5-minute live relay from the National Assembly Hall in Sofia of the opening of the seventh session of the Ninth National Assembly.

At 1300 GMT reporter Boyan Bonev describes the atmosphere at the hall and says that "leaders have taken their seats in the official box." Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, opens the session, and requests a minute of silence to honor the memory of deceased National Assembly members. Then, Stanko Todorov proposes the following agenda:

1. "Report of the [words indistinct] on the (?legality of the by-election of National Assembly members;")

2. "Draft law on adopting the normative decrees issued by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria during the period from 19 August to 18 November 1987;"

3. "Draft law on changes and addenda to the elections law;"

4. "Draft law on discontinuing the mandate of the okrug, municipal, and district people's councils [word indistinct];"

5. "Draft law on creating municipalities in Sofia City;"

6. "Report of the government on the implementation of the 1987 Uniform Plan on the Scientific-Technical and Socioeconomic Development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the state budget, and on the pace and dimensions of developing the country during 1988;"

7. "Draft law on the 1988 Uniform Plan on the Scientific-Technical and Socioeconomic Development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;"

8. "Draft law on the 1988 state budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;"

9. "Information on the international activity of the National Assembly during 1987;"

10. "Draft plan on the work of the National Assembly during 1988;" and

11. "Interpellation to the Council of Ministers by National Assembly member Slavcho Trunski."

The proposed agenda is "unanimously adopted," after which the work of the session begins.

Reporter Boyan Bonev announces the end of the live relay, reporting that the Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council; Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council; Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other party and state leaders are attending the session."

Dzhurov Speaks at Army Party Conference

AU091934 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov and Captain Valeri Mladenov: "Analytical, Responsible, and Farsighted Approach"]

[Excerpts] Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, has taken part in the party conference in the unit in which Officer Strakhil Mladenov is the senior political worker. [passage omitted]

The following officials also took part in the conference: Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and head of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense; Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; Lieutenant General Trifon Balkanski, first deputy head of the BCP Central Committee "Social and National Security" Department; Aleksandur Mirchev, secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee; and Lt Gen Yaroshenko, aide to the representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states to the Bulgarian People's Army. [passage omitted]

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, made a well-founded and constructive statement concerning the increased requirements addressed to the commanders, political and Komsomol organizations, and to the entire personnel of the Antiaircraft Defense and the Air Force, relating to further implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP Central Committee July and November plenums. He paid special attention to improving management and qualitatively restructuring the military cadres' style and methods of work. He connected this issue with the necessity to decisively increase the combat readiness of the Army in general, and of the Antiaircraft Defense and Air Force in particular. Army General Dobri Dzhurov said: I have repeatedly stressed in the stage of fundamental restructuring which we are now entering, that the most important aspect of management is how we organize the implementation of these tasks. The search for and mastering of modern methods and new technologies, which correspond to the means of management automation which are being introduced at present or will be introduced in the future, must be the foundation of our work.

In this context, creative thinking and determination of practical activities and purposefulness, which require the development of high professionalism and competency in the cadres, acquire special importance. Now it is especially important to improve the businesslike approach in the work of the commanding personnel. We must also stress the application of greater clarity and farsightedness in setting tasks, and in the organization of their implementation, above all else.

Later on, the minister of national defense spoke about some unsolved problems in the Antiaircraft Defense and Air Force and stressed that the efforts of all units and organs must be directed toward their solution. Therefore, it is necessary to work with a high sense of responsibility and with constant vigilance and readiness to perform the tasks. In this spirit some specific weaknesses of certain important Army units were pointed out. The supreme essence of the specific and active participation of the commanders, staffs, political organs, and party organizations in restructuring lies in implementing the unconditional requirements of the party and the people to ensure the inviolability of our air borders, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov said. It is necessary to search for new approaches, forms, and methods of work in ensuring all conditions and preconditions for the psychological attitude of the personnel for the exemplary implementation of combat guard duty. The individual training of every soldier, as well as instruction concerning coordination, exact actions, guard duty, the squadron, and so forth are to be patiently and methodically improved. There must be no place for indifference, even toward the smallest weaknesses, and no place for mistakes.

The minister of national defense also discussed the tasks regarding the full utilization of the role of the human factor in qualitatively solving problems. The specific result and their own share in the success in elevating the combat readiness of every unit to a new level must be the basic criteria of the activity of each commander, political worker, pilot, and technician. Some characteristic weaknesses were pointed out: Several of the officers are not taking part in the renovating processes and do not feel their own responsibility for the fate of restructuring. It is necessary to study more profoundly the processes and phenomena in the collectives, to get to know the people from close range, and to be familiar with both the positive aspects and the shortcomings, the aspirations and moods, the attitude toward the service, and so forth.

The primary party organizations have repeatedly proven their ability to respond to the new tasks and mobilize the personnel to implement the party instructions, according to the minister of national defense. The primary party organizations have an exceptionally responsible task at the present stage—to activate, mobilize, and direct the human factor, in the persons of the Communists, toward the multifaceted process of restructuring. The primary party organizations must become real political leaders of the renovating processes in the troops. However, this especially requires that the political organs decisively improve leadership quality of the party organizations, the minister stressed. It is very important to create conditions which increase the role and contribution of the basic factors —the one man commander, political organs, and the primary party organizations—to restructuring,

in order to achieve a total unity of action and coordination among them in their common struggle for high quality of the units' combat readiness. Confidence was expressed that the Communists of the Antiaircraft Defense and Air Force will honorably fulfill the responsible tasks set for them. [passage omitted]

Reactions to U.S.-USSR INF Treaty

Dailies Cited

LD091002 Prague CTK in English 0907 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—The Soviet-American intermediate nuclear forces treaty signed in Washington on Tuesday removes a psychological barrier in international relations and proves political will is the chief prerequisite for arms control talks to succeed, the Czechoslovak Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO said today.

"The treaty confirms that political will and readiness are cardinal prerequisites for the success of disarmament negotiations. No technical or military problem can become an insuperable obstacle if there exists political commitment," the newspaper said in an editorial.

"A psychological barrier has been cleared, and not only in the relations between the two biggest nuclear powers. A curative flow of restored trust, mutual understanding, respecting the interests of the other side, and joint knowledge we can live and be neighbours without the threat of nuclear weapons will now make itself felt in international relations," it said.

The newspaper said "new thinking" required by the nuclear age had surprisingly begun asserting itself in bourgeois circles in the West.

"The awareness that states and nations must not be enemies armed to the teeth to each other and must not...rely on solving disputes by military power is becoming stronger," it said.

But it said the United States "has so far not reached the conclusion that nuclear weapons are totally useless" and the idea of a nuclear-free world "has not become dominant in the political thinking of the bourgeoisie either in America or Western Europe."

"The process of nuclear disarmament and the political dialogue connected with it are still facing numerous obstacles and intricacies. Nevertheless, they have started and they have been developing, and that is the important fact," it stressed.

In Bratislava, the Slovak Communist Party daily PRAVDA said the treaty was "a historic victory of forces favouring disarmament, coexistence and peace" and proved the nuclear threat to mankind could be diminished without endangering the security of either side.

"We cannot but see this step as a precedent...for new, more significant milestones on the road toward full nuclear disarmament and the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and peace," it said.

Army Officer's Views

LD081722 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government has examined the issues concerned by the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles and expressed its consent in principle with the realization of inspection measures on Czechoslovak territory.

This point was stressed by first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, Lieutenant-General Jiri Brychta in an interview for CTK today.

The Czechoslovak People's Army is organizationally, methodically and materially prepared to ensure its share of these inspections. Cooperation with the Czechoslovak ministries concerned and the command of the Soviet Armed Forces is ensured. This will make it possible to operatively solve all problems connected with the realization of inspections, Lieutenant-General Jiri Brychta said.

"Similarly as in the case of the implementation of the provisions under the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, also in the case of the treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles between the Soviet Union and the United States we are fully prepared to guarantee and ensure the implementation of all provisions which concern Czechoslovakia", Jiri Brychta said.

Inspections are part of control measures and form one of the main methods of verification of the two sides' observance of their pledges.

Inspections on Czechoslovak territory will be made by U.S. inspectors. The methods of verification are defined by the protocol on inspections which is an inseparable part of the Soviet-U.S. treaty. The protocol enables U.S. inspectors to enter the territory of Czechoslovakia and make inspections in selected areas of the Soviet military installations on Czechoslovak territory. The protocol also clearly says that the inspectors are obliged to observe Czechoslovak laws.

Groups Welcome Treaty

LD091112 Prague CTK in English 1836 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Prague Dec 8 (TCK)—The Czechoslovak Peace Committee has expressed great satisfaction over the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Welcoming the report, the committee said in a statement: "However, the struggle is far from over. There are forces which will try to prevent ratification of the agreement or replace the liquidated weapons with new ones and thus virtually annul the significance of this step. The

first palpable step has been made in the process of denuclearization. The international peace movement, with broad support of the Czechoslovak public, must now exert all-out effort for the nuclear potential to be reduced step by step to a zero, for all systems of mass annihilation to be liquidated and for the level of conventional annihilation to be liquidated and for the level of conventional armament to be substantially cut."

"The International Union of Students highly appreciates the historic importance of the treaty which is the first clear proof that disarmament is possible", Giorgios Michaelides, secretary-general of the Prague-based international non-governmental organization said.

"The conclusion of the treaty will certainly create a favourable political climate which should be immediately used to achieve more disarmament agreements. We hope that the new political climate will also prevent armament attempts in space", he said. [passage omitted]

The presidium of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions welcomed at its today's session the summit meeting of top Soviet representative Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington.

The Presidium stated that the signing of the treaty on the elimination of two types of nuclear missiles is an important step towards the solution of fateful questions of mankind and provides hope for the further reduction of the arsenals of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

The Central Council of Trade Unions Presidium stressed that in the struggle for mankind's peaceful future it is necessary to further increase the struggle for the unity of action of working people all over the world and also that of their trade unions. It underlined that the Czechoslovak trade unions, together with all democratic and peaceful forces all over the world, will continue in the struggle for the total destruction of nuclear arms, against space armament, for the elimination of chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional arms and will actively contribute to the creation of a war-free and socially just world.

Interior Minister on Antigovernment Activists

LD302203 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Text] There is talk in the West of an antigovernment opposition active in this country and of persecution of its members. The leading Czechoslovak daily Rude Pravo asked the Czechoslovak Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar to comment. Here are some highlights of his repsonse:

It is no secret that there are people and groups of people in Czechoslovakia opposed to socialism and acting against its development. It is no secret either that their doings are instigated and financed from abroad and that the opposition is isolated, and it has no appreciable following in any social group here. Furthermore, most of its members never speak publicly against socialism, but this does not prevent them from trying to place breaks on the current process of economic and political reform unfolding in Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries. The objective of these ill-wishers is to discredit this process, to impede progress, because they are well aware of the fact that if changes are allowed to take root, socialism will grow stronger both in individual countries and on the international scale. Hence attempts to set up antigovernment activism.

Hard as they may try, being isolated, they cannot pose any serious threat to the foundations of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, the opposition limits itself to political forms of protest. The task of the security forces is to prevent the antisocialists from breaching the law, and to do so without resorting to unjustified or arbitrary measures which could be exploited by enemies of socialism for discrediting the process of democratization and economic restructuring in Czechoslovakia. However, patience, prudence, and restraint on the part of the security forces does not imply that strict legal action will not be taken against anyone who violates the Czechoslovak law. In this respect, Czechoslovakia does not really differ from any other sovereign country.

Interior Minister Answers Readers' Questions

AU021156 [Editorial Report] Under the headline "On the Work of the National Security Corps," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 21 November on page 3 publish the 3,500-word first installment of answers by Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of the interior, to questions sent in by the readers of the Czechoslovak party press. On 30 November, also on page 3 and under the same headline, the two party papers publish the 4,000-word second installment of the interior minister's replies.

In his initial statements, Vajnar responds to readers' complaints about there not being enough policemen on patrol—especially at night and in large housing estates—which, as one reader points out, facilitates burglaries, vandalism, and other criminal activity. Vajnar replies that measures are currently under review to concentrate Public Security Corps [VB] units in areas with the highest incidence of crime, to reinforce patrols, notably in large cities and industrial centers, and to increase the number of servicemen involved in the "direct execution of service." Vajnar admits that, although the rising trend of burglaries has been arrested in the last 2 years, burglaries and vandalism continue to be a problem, especially in the new large housing estates of Prague. The large concentration of people, mostly young families where both parents are working, the anonimity of the inhabitants of these estates, and a number of other circumstances, he says, facilitate crime and hamper the

activity of law-enforcing units. That is why the police depend on the "greater attentiveness and perceptiveness" of citizens, and on the help of volunteers from the VB Auxiliary Guards.

The next questions, by Otakar Hosek from Ceske Budejovice and "P.K." from Prague, inquire about the possibilities of ascertaining the identity of a member of the National Security Corps [SNB] and about cases of bribery within the SNB. Replying to the first question, Vajnar says that "if a citizen objects to the behavior and conduct of an SNB member, he has the right to inspect the front page of his duty pass, to copy the registration number entered there, and to lodge a complaint." If the complaint turns out to be justified, he says, the official in question is punished. Answering the second question, Vajnar says: "In all the work of the SNB, extraordinary emphasis is placed on strict respect for the law by all members, a respect that is based on a sound knowledge of the law and other regulations. The basic purpose and mission of the security agencies' activity is service to our citizens. But it is true that a collective of the size of the SNB is not immune to the presence in its ranks of individuals who do not meet these high requirements, who violate the strictly defined principles and rules of conduct governing relations with the public. Regrettably, there also occur more grievous cases of violation of socialist lawfulness, notably abuse of official rank and, in individual cases, acceptance of bribes and other culpable offenses. All these cases are strictly punished in accordance with the law."

In his subsequent statements, Vajnar responds to questions about crime in the CSSR and the clear-up rate. In this connection he says that more than 90 percent of reported cases of crime are cleared and wound up within 1 to 2 months. The cases that take longer to clear up are mostly complex cases of economic crime; the delay is often caused by poor record keeping in economic organizations, the long time required for audits, as well as "attempts to cover up criminal activity, especially cases involving transgressions against economic discipline and purloining of socialist property." As for crimes involving the use of brute force (homicide, deliberate infliction of bodily harm, robberies, and attacks on public officials), Vajnar says that statistical figures show a decline in the total number of such offenses in the last 3 years, although there has been an increase in the "proportion of acts marked by the perpetrators' extreme brutality and aggressiveness." Some 50 percent of such acts, he says, are committed under the influence of alcohol, adding that the clear-up rate for murders is "between 95 and 98 percent." Speaking about the share of young people in criminal activity, Vajnar points out that although youth delinquency declined somewhat in 1986, young people under 25 continue to account for about 20 percent of all cleared-up cases of crime. The Gypsy youth, in particular, is said to have "a relatively high share in criminal activity, especially in robberies and property-related crime."

Answering a question on drug abuse, the minister of interior then says: "The most widespread form of addiction to nonalcoholic toxicants in the CSSR is abuse of evanescent synthetic substances and various pharmaceuticals. Some 800 persons a year are prosecuted for drug-related offenses and more than 30 persons a year die as a result of intoxication. An alarming fact is the declining age of registered drug addicts; some of them are children under 15."

Vajnar goes on to discuss measures being taken to combat drug abuse. He refers to the abolition of the free sale of pharmaceuticals that can be used to produce narcotic substances, to the planned reduction in the toxicity of some "evanescent synthetic substances," and to unspecified measures against burglaries into pharmacies and warehouses of medical supplies as well as against the theft of narcotic substances during their production or distribution. However, he also points out that the "transition to steadily new forms of the production of narcotic substances" makes it difficult to control all forms of drug abuse.

In his remaining statements in the first installment of his answers, Vajnar discusses the importance of new technology for the SNB's work, the difficulty of exposing and proving cases of bribe (since it is in the interest of both sides to keep them secret), and the political, moral, and other criteria (mental and physical fitness, "probity of the applicant and his closest relatives," and the like) which a candidate for an SNB career must satisfy. In this connection he also reviews the benefits associated with membership in the SNB—the provision of a recruitment bonus and of severance pay; the "relatively good housing and accommodation situation (with the exception of Prague)"; extended annual leave (30 days); availability of special health care facilities; lower retirement age; and various extra payments subject to the specific conditions under which service is performed.

In the second installment of his answers, Interior Minister Vajnar responds to questions ranging from antistate activities to traffic regulations.

In his opening statement, Vajnar replies to the question of why SNB members do not act more vigorously against illegal money changers, who engage in their trade in public, before Tuzex stores. He refers to the factors facilitating illegal currency trade (tourism, Czechoslovak currency regulations, current exchange rates) and to the difficulty of exposing this activity, because current legislation requires proof that it is undertaken with speculative motives. Nevertheless, Vajnar insists that security agencies devote "considerable attention" to the illegal currency trade and deplores that the media do not sufficiently publicize cases of exposed and sentenced currency dealers. This, he says, may account for the "erroneous impression" that not enough is being done to combat this form of criminal activity.

The subsequent questions deal with traffic regulations. One reader notes the growing number of road checks and asks whether they result in a corresponding decline in the number of traffic accidents. Another reader takes exception to the "rigidity" of technical inspections of vehicles, which "does not contribute to the popularity of VB patrols," and requests that traffic policemen consider the shortage of spare parts on the Czechoslovak market. Answering the first question, Vajnar says that the number of traffic accidents will be about 5 percent higher this year than in 1986, but that the number of persons killed or seriously injured in road accidents will not exceed the 1986 level. Nevertheless, according to Vajnar, Czechoslovakia still ranks "in the worse half of advanced European countries" in terms of serious traffic accidents in relation to the number of inhabitants and motor vehicles. He attributes this to the irresponsibility and lack of discipline of drivers and other participants in road traffic and to the "vehicles' poor technical condition." Answering the second question, the interior minister says that social interests must have priority and that, regardless of the causes, technical defects which jeopardize the safety of road traffic or harm the environment cannot be tolerated.

In his next reply, Vajnar responds to questions concerning foreign travel regulations and the, according to one reader, "unnecessarily complicated procedures in permitting travel, especially to capitalist countries." The same reader also asks whether it is true that applicants for a foreign currency allocation are being screened by security agencies.

Vajnar replies that the interest of Czechoslovak citizens in travel to capitalist countries and Yugoslavia exceeds the "currency possibilities of the Czechoslovak economy" and that foreign currency resources for foreign travel thus have to be rationed. The currency allocation procedure, he says, "is the exclusive affair of the state bank, which considers, above all, the conditions and the possibilities of the currency economy." Apart from this, Vajnar continues, a Czechoslovak citizen wishing to travel privately to a capitalist country or Yugoslavia must apply for the issuance of a passport: "The issuance of the passport is a legal procedure taking place in the passport and visa division of the Federal Ministry of Interior in line with the respective laws and executory provisions. These norms stipulate that decisions on submitted applications must be made within the set deadline of 30 days. The application for the issuance of the passport contains basic information on the applicant, the employer's and the national committee's standpoint, and the extract from police records. In deciding on the application, consideration is also given to the absolutely essential protection of the interests of the Czechoslovak socialist state."

Concluding his reply, Vajnar refers to some ongoing or contemplated changes with regard to foreign travel. He says: "From the viewpoint of the internal needs and possibilities of our state, as well as from the viewpoint of the development of international relations, including the normalization of relations with our immediate nonsocialist neighboring states, prerequisites are currently being created for the implementation of some measures, which are now being studied by the appropriate agencies. These measures are aimed at further simplifying movement across the state border in both directions, at opening up further possibilities for foreign travel by Czechoslovak citizens, and also at making the decisions on some so-called humanitarian cases more flexible. A few days ago, a decision was published providing for the setting up of foreign currency accounts of Czechoslovak citizens with Czechoslovak banks, to which foreign currency can be deposited for the purpose of Czechoslovak citizens' travel to capitalist states.

"We assume that as this positive process continues and experience is gained with the new approaches, possibilities will expand for taking further steps in this direction. This is in line with the intentions of the highest party and state bodies, which devote systematic attention to these issues, realizing that these are politically very sensitive matters which immediately affect the interests of the society as a whole and of many citizens."

Replying to a question on the operations of "foreign intelligence services" in Czechoslovakia, the interior minister then says: "In the past, the media of mass information and propaganda used to publish from time to time information on the exposure of the activity of hostile intelligence services and their agents on the CSSR territory. Now, too, security agencies avail themselves of specific signals testifying to the continued efforts of Western espionage services and their agents to acquire classified information concerning political life in the CSSR, our economy, the activity of the Czechoslovak People's Army and Soviet troops stationed on the CSSR territory, their equipment and combat preparedness, and other spheres of the socialist society's life. Neither have they let up in the intensity of their attempts to harm our economy and disrupt its development, to spread hostile propaganda and ideological subversion by means of the mass information media under their control, and to engage in other forms of subversive activity."

In addition, Vajnar continues, foreign intelligence agencies "are trying to engage in intelligence and espionage activity on Czechoslovak territory with the help of some Czechoslovak citizens who, out of hostility for socialism or lust for money, are willing to betray their homeland. They also abuse foreigners coming under the cloak of tourism and economic or cultural cooperation, or Czechoslovak citizens leaving for various reasons for abroad. Our security agencies avail themselves of plenty of information on the interests and requirements of this activity, but also on its forms and methods, and are successful in controlling and disrupting most sources of information for these special agencies. At present, proceeding in the spirit of the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the relevant directives, we settle these cases—provided that they do not constitute a serious

violation of laws, in which case they must be appropriately punished—by placing emphasis on preventive and educational activity among our citizens. In the event of the uncovering of similar activity by a foreign national, appropriate administrative measures are being taken, with due regard for the positively developing current [international] relations."

Asked whether organized antistate groups operate in Czechoslovakia, the minister then says:

"We know that in our socialist society there are still people, individuals or tiny groups, who hold antisocialist and antistate views and whose acts and conduct are aimed against the further successful sociopolitical and economic development of our society. The conduct of these people is motivated by enmity and hatred for socialism, and is mostly encouraged and supported materially and morally from abroad by special services and the centers of ideological subversion controlled by them. These are politically isolated elements, who have no appreciable following in any social group, nor do they operate as organized antistate groups.

"At present most of them do not even speak publicly against the socialist ideology or the socialist order. On the contrary, more and more often we find they are attempting to exploit and sponge off of the process of restructuring, democratization, and acceleration of socioeconomic development currently evolving in our country, the USSR, and other socialist states. Their true aim is to discredit this process, to devalue it in the eyes of the working people, and to thwart its successful implementation. Like their sponsors among the most reactionary circles of imperialism and in the intelligence centers, they are well aware that the success of the new policy embarked upon in the states of the socialist community, which means the onset of a new stage of the development of socialism, will result in the further strengthening of the positions of socialism in individual countries and on the world scale."

The attainment of the aims of the strategy of acceleration and restructuring, the minister continues, will therefore "inevitably move these people further to the periphery of social developments in the socialist countries. This is why they are trying to step up their activity even more today, in an effort to disturb the drafting of this new political line and to hamper its practical implementation.

"In view of their complete political isolation, their conduct cannot influence our action, let alone disturb peace and divert the CPCZ and all working people from concrete, creative and responsible work in implementing the tasks of restructuring. In their current position, they represent no serious threat to the stability of the socialist system. This is why political forms are the main forms of struggle against their activity.

"However, the security agencies also have their irreplaceable responsibility in this regard. Their duty is to consistently see to it that these people are prevented from violating the law and disrupting our political system by their conduct. It would be a grave mistake to disregard or underestimate the existence of these elements and their attempts to infiltrate official structures and gain the position of a legally functioning political opposition force. Quite the contrary, it is the duty of security agencies to devote lasting and continuous attention to this subversive, antisocialist activity, and to do so without letting themselves be imprudently pushed onto the path of repressive measures, which, without any doubt, hostile forces would immediately and broadly exploit to discredit the process of democratization and restructuring in general. However, this line of restraint and of a prudent and patient approach definitely does not imply that we do not, and will not, use lawful means within the framework of the valid legal order against these elements if they make themselves guilty of a gross violation of the law."

Answering the next question, about the number of people detained in attempting to illegally cross the border in Czechoslovakia, the minister says that "this number has stabilized at approximately 2,000 a year." This year, for example, he says, "2,180 persons have been detained for this illegal activity. More than 1,250 attempted to cross the borders with socialist states, and more than 920 to cross the borders with the FRG and Austria." The minister notes that 47 percent of these persons were Czechoslovak citizens and the rest foreign nationals. According to Vajnar, the motives vary. Attempts at illegal border crossings with socialist states are most often motivated by the smuggling of goods or by the endeavor to reach capitalist states via Czechoslovak territory. On the borders with Austria and the FRG, on the other hand, about 50 percent of the illegal crossings are said to be motivated by the "attempt to avoid deserved punishment for committed crimes." The remaining motives are "the search for adventure, distorted notions about life in the West, or an endeavor to solve personal problems in this way."

In his remaining statements in the second installment, Vajnar responds to questions on hooliganism during and after sporting events and on thefts on the railroads.

Answering the first question, Vajnar says that he deems the current laws and regulations on combating hooliganism sufficient and that "they need not be tightened by additional repressive measures." In this connection, he refers to an agreement reached between the Ministry of Interior and the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association in 1982, which provides for "a number of preventive/educational measures" against potential hooligans. Under this agreement, it is forbidden to enter the grounds of a sporting event with "undesirable objects or alcohol" and to grant admission to intoxicated persons. Vajnar also refers to "measures of a technical nature, including the use of video technology, which contributes

to the identification of hooligans, to the documentation of their conduct, and to finding out which conditions are conducive to disturbances of public order." The minister admits, however, that cases of unwarranted toleration of hooliganism may still occur, either because the order-enforcing units fail to intervene in due time or "because their justified action against the disturbance of public order does not always meet with the public's support."

In his concluding reply, Vajnar concedes that "passenger cars of Czechoslovak and foreign make that are transported on the railroads are a frequent subject of the interest of perpetrators [of criminal activity], who steal some parts from them." In view of the conditions under which these cars are transported (open platform wagons and inadequate protection before loading, during transportation, and after unloading), it is difficult to prevent such thefts and to apprehend the thieves, he says. The search for offenders is also complicated by the difficulty of determining the time and location of the theft and by the circumstance that "the majority of exposed perpetrators have been employees of the Czechoslovak State Railroads."

Besides recommending the use of covered box cars, Vajnar also points out that the protection of shipments is primarily the responsibility of the Czechoslovak State Railroads themselves and that, as of 1972, protection of railroad shipments has been provided by the railroads' own armed guards. He also mentions that since the establishment of a special VB task force in 1982, which deals specifically with the prevention and clarification of thefts on the railroads, there has been a marked drop in such cases and an increase in the number of caught offenders.

According to RUDE PRAVO and BRATISLAVA PRAVDA, answers to further questions for Minister Vajnar will be published in the "coming days."

Defense Minister, Delegation Visit Libya

For Libyan media reportage on the visit to Libya by Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik, including his meeting with Colonel Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, see the Libya section of the 8 December issue of the Near East & South Asia *Daily Report* and subsequent issues.

GDR Welcomes Soviet-U.S. Disarmament Accord

Honecker Statement

LD082045 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, made the following statement on the signing of the accord on the elimination of nuclear medium-range missiles:

The accord on the elimination of nuclear medium-range missiles signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington on 8 December 1987 meets with unreserved approval and support in the GDR. In assessing this disarmament accord I agree with all those who see it as an historic milestone on the road to a nuclear-weapon-free world. The elimination of nuclear medium-range missiles is also a first practical consequence of the realization that in the nuclear age, more weapons do not mean more security.

The effects of the accord will be noticeable to a special extent in Europe. The agreed destruction of two categories of missiles will now put a stop to a dangerous development which exacerbated the nuclear confrontation in Europe during the 1980's.

As is known, the GDR belongs to the nine states from which, in accordance with the accord, nuclear weapons will be removed. We have never made any secret of the fact that the deployment of additional nuclear weapons in the West and in the East did not please us. In light of this we extend thanks and recognition today to all those who, with a sense of reality and readiness for compromise, have achieved this accord in lengthy, often complicated, but in the final analysis, successful negotiations. The efforts of the Soviet Union, which led in a constructive line from Geneva via Reykjavik to the present signing of the accord in Washington, always had our full support and our active contribution.

The Soviet-U.S. accord of 8 December 1987 is the first nuclear disarmament accord, and we are in favor of it becoming a breakthrough to further radical disarmament measures. I refer here primarily to a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, with retention of the ABM Treaty, and to the ban on nuclear tests and chemical weapons.

The Washington agreement and its stringent implementation can improve the strategic situation, particularly in Europe. The preconditions are improving for expanding disarmament to other fields—dismantling tactical nuclear weapons, drastically reducing conventional forces and arms, creating both a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe, and agreeing measures to prevent surprise attacks.

The GDR is prepared to continue the constructive exchange of views and the search for solutions of all these issues, solutions which impair no one's security and give priority to peaceful cooperation in European politics on the basis of equal rights. It knows it is at one with its friends and allies in this endeavor.

'Historic Moment' Praised

LD091000 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0404 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 9 Dec 87 ADN—"A historic moment" is the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND description on Wednesday for the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the double-zero option for nuclear medium-range missiles by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The treaty, which has now been concluded, is the first major disarmament agreement in history. It really deserves this name. "Every Soviet and American U.S. land-based missile with a range of between 500 and 5,500 kilometres will be eliminated under the treaty. So 2,800 carrier systems with an even larger number of nuclear warheads, every one of which could turn a city into a Hiroshima, will disappear from the nine states in which they are currently sited and, indeed, from the earth."

Even if this is only small part of the nuclear weapons arsenals which are piled up on our planet, "Europe and the world can relax a little", NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes.

These instruments of death, against which there was no real defense, increased the danger of an uncontrolled outbreak of the nuclear inferno immeasurably through their short flying time of under 10 minutes and, consequently, the brief warning period, the paper notes.

Although this is a treaty between two states, it thereby takes on an international character. "It touches on the future of the entire globe. It benefits every nation on earth," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND emphasizes.

The paper writes that the unprecedented comprehensive verification measures are of particular interest. For decades disarmament negotiations had broken down on the question of verification, particularly the problem of on-site inspection. "The verification mechanism which has been agreed upon is the strictest in the history of arms control and may be of great importance in working out future, even more comprehensive disarmament agreements", the paper writes.

For the first time, the treaty turned disarmament from hope into reality. It was an encouragement to all forces of peace to continue their efforts to achieve further steps on the path to a world without nuclear weapons.

Honecker Receives New GSFG Commander Snetkov

LD081544 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1336 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council and of the National Defense Council, today received Army General Boris Vasilyevich Snetkov, newly appointed commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], for an inaugural visit. During the friendly meeting in the Central Committee building, Erich Honecker congratulated Army General Snetkov on his appointment to the new post and wished him much success in his responsible work.

The SED Central Committee general secretary briefed his guest on the initiatives and achievements of the workers and soldiers in implementing the far-reaching decisions of the 11th SED party congress. They are an expression of the firm will of the GDR people to continue to strengthen socialism and thus to make peace more secure. In view of its particular responsibility at the sensitive dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the GDR attaches great importance to peace-securing dialogue and will contribute with its own disarmament initiatives to bringing about a return to detente. In this connection Erich Honecker spoke of the historical significance of the treaty to be signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington on the global removal of medium-range weapons as the first real step toward nuclear disarmament and as an encouragement to all forces of peace.

Army General Snetkov expressed thanks for the cordial reception and gave the assurances that the members of the Group of Soviet Forces, in firm combat alliance with the GDR National People's Army and the other Warsaw Pact member states, will continue to fulfill their internationalist duty to provide reliable protection for the peaceful work of construction by the fraternal countries and to make their contribution to preserving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

The members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense, and Egon Krenz, SED Colonel-General Fritz Streletz and Colonel-General Horst Bruenner took part in the meeting.

Colonel-General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the military council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Group of Soviet Forces, was also present.

SED CC Message to Border Troops

AU021240 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 87 p 1

[Message from SED Central Committee signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to GDR Border Troops: "GDR Border Troops Contribute to Safeguarding Peace; SED Central Committee Greetings on 41st Anniversary"]

[Text] Comrades soldiers, seamen recruits, noncommissioned officers, and petty officers, comrades warrant officers, officers, and generals, comrades civilian employees and voluntary helpers of the GDR Border Troops: The SED Central Committee conveys cordial greetings and congratulations to you on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the GDR Border Troops.

Keeping guard at the dividing line between the two social and alliance systems, you have contributed through your outstanding achievements to successfully implementing our policy aimed at the well-being of the people, at strengthening socialism, and at safeguarding peace.

You are fulfilling with great political responsibility the tasks assigned to you in protecting our state borders. For this we owe you thanks and respect.

The Central Committee is convinced that in firm militant alliance with the National People's Army, the protection and security organs of the GDR, as well as with the brothers in class and in arms of the USSR and the other socialist states you will continue to guarantee peace and order at the borders of our socialist fatherland. The recognition and the safeguarding of the inviolability of the existing borders are and continue to be indispensable preconditions that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace.

Under the leadership of the SED and on the basis of the trusting cooperation with all working people, all social forces, as well as the party and state organs, the members of the Border Troops are concentrating their efforts on the further implementation of the 11th Party Congress resolutions.

We wish all soldiers, seamen recruits, noncommissioned officers, and petty officers, all officers and generals, the civilian employees and voluntary helpers of the GDR Border Troops much creative vigor and further successes in their responsible work. At the same time we wish you and your families good health and all the best in your personal lives.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

General Secretary

More on Visit by Yugoslavia's Mikulic

Meeting With Honecker

LD081541 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1129 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY's FEC for a friendly talk in the Central Committee building on Tuesday.

Branko Mikulic conveyed warm greetings from Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidium, which were reciprocated equally warmly by Erich Honecker.

Erich Honecker and his Yugoslav interlocutor briefed one another on the social and economic development of their countries.

Erich Honecker spoke about the SED policies to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. He spoke of the numerous initiatives and great achievements of working people in the further successful development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR. He stressed the resolve of party and people to continue with the course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Branko Mikulic spoke about the endeavors of the working people of Yugoslavia in the realization of the decisions of the 13th LCY congress aimed at the country's economic stabilization.

The two politicians praised the high level of the traditionally friendly relations between both parties and countries. They noted with satisfaction that bilateral cooperaton has successfully developed in all areas of public life in the now 30 years since the start of diplomatic relations. Cooperation is developing steadily and with growing benefit for the two sides on the firm foundation of the agreements concluded with Josip Broz Tito and defined further in subsequent meetings between the leading representatives of the two countries, the interlocutors stressed.

Erich Honecker and Branko Mikulic reaffirmed the resolve of both sides to work with all their strength for the further expansion and deepening of the trusting relationship of firm friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples. This is also served by the agreed continuation of political contacts and the many exchanges of view on all levels.

The two interlocutors underscored the growing importance of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the SFRY, which are significant trading partners. They noted with satisfaction that cooperation is also developing in this sphere on a stable basis. The results achieved so far confirm their joint assessment to the effect that the national economic opportunities of both countries provide the basis for the future stable and dynamic development of economic relations. The more effective development of cooperation is of growing importance in this context, particularly on the basis on long-term agreements, as well as its increased use for speeding up scientific-technological progress in both countries.

In this connection they stressed the requirement of specific targets for the long-term development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation with a view to the year 2000 and beyond.

During the exchange of views on current international questions it was jointly noted that the safeguarding of peace remains the central task of the present in view of the continuing danger of a nuclear inferno.

Erich Honecker and Branko Mikulic welcomed the summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. They agreed that the conclusion of an agreement on the global elimination of nuclear medium-range and operational-tactical missiles by the USSR and the United States and its implementation presented an opportunity to embark on worldwide disarmament. They expressed their conviction that this agreement will have a favorable effect on the international climate and will lead to greater stability and trust in international relations. It provides scope for steps toward disarmament and confidence-building in other spheres as well, such as the 50-percent reduction of the USSR's and the U.S. strategic offensive weapons, strengthening the ABM Treaty, stopping all nuclear testing, eliminating chemical weapons and conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. Both interlocutors gave the assurance that their countries will continue to make an active contribution to improving the international situation in accordance with their respective international positions.

Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, took part in the talks which took place in an open and comradely atmosphere. The ambassadors of the two states, Milan Predojevic and Ralph Hartmann, were present.

'Openness' Praised

LD090008 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2019 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec (ADN)—The relations between the GDR and Yugoslavia are characterized by trust, openness, mutual respect and understanding, the prime ministers of the two states, Willi Stoph and Branko Mikulic, declared in Berlin on Tuesday at the end of their official talks. The fruitful exchange of views have strengthened the conviction on both sides that all the preconditions exist for deepening further the cooperation between the GDR and Yugoslavia, which is based on firm friendship and benefits both sides. The statesmen underlined the readiness, in accordance with the interests of both countries, to make further efforts for the development of economic cooperation and to open up available resources more effectively.

Willi Stoph and Branko Mikulic stressed that there is a real chance to end the arms race and bring about a turn toward disarmament, even if the international situation still remains complicated. Both politicians expressed

their expectation that the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the global removal of their land-based medium-range missiles, which they see as historically significant, represents the start of real disarmament and can ease further disarmament measures also in other spheres, thus for example in strategic weapons.

Willi Stoph and Branko Mikulic affirmed the interest of their countries in the improvement of the climate in Europe. They came out in favor of the further strengthening of the CSCE process. They also stressed the necessity to intensify the efforts of the CSCE states at the Vienna meeting, in order to conclude a balanced and substantial final document in the shortest possible time.

Branko Mikulic invited Willi Stoph to an official friendly visit to the SFRY. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

On the same day, Branko Mikulic, visited the Town Hall of Berlin and the "7th October" machine tool combine in Berlin. In the afternoon he ended his 2-day official friendly visit to the GDR and began the journey home.

ADN Reports Fischer Visit to Stockholm

Talks With Andersson

LD251607 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1439 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Stockholm, 25 Nov ADN—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer continued his visit to Sweden today. His talks with his opposite number, Sten Andersson, focused on current disarmament problems as well as questions of security and cooperation in Europe. Both politicians stressed that disarmament processes could be supported by the establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones. In this context tribute was paid to the six states initiative and the conference on nuclear weapons free zones proposed by Erich Honecker.

Oskar Fischer and Sten Andersson welcomed the agreement reached in Geneva on the previous day between the USSR and the United States to eliminate their medium-range nuclear missiles.

The Swedish foreign minister accepted an invitation for an official visit to the GDR with thanks.

The signing of an agreement on cooperation between the GDR and Sweden in the fight against pollution in the Baltic as well as of an accord on medical care is planned for the afternoon of the second day of the visit.

Audience With Royalty

LD260458 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1841 GMT 25 November 87

[Excerpts] Stockholm, 25 Nov (ADN)—King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia granted GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer an audience in Stockholm Castle today. The GDR politician conveyed to the Swedish head of state cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, which were cordially reciprocated.

During the friendly talk, the good-neighborly bilateral relations, which contribute to the peaceful coexistence of peoples, were acknowledged. The Swedish king recalled Erich Honecker's successful state visit to Sweden last year, in the wake of which these relations had developed even more vigorously. Oskar Fischer stressed that during his official talks he had been able to note that, like the GDR, Sweden also wants to safeguard peace and expand mutual relations. He spoke about the GDR'S contribution to disarmament and detente and agreed with King Carl XVI Gustaf that peace is a vital condition for mankind's existence.

Oskar Fischer was accompanied by GDR Ambassador to Sweden Manfred Schmidt. Swedish Ambassador to the GDR Henrik Liljegren was also present.

Earlier, Oskar Fischer and Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson concluded their talks. They welcomed yesterday's agreement between the USSR and the United States in Geneva on eliminating their medium-range missiles. Oskar Fischer pointed to the GDR's active contributions to this accord. Sten Andersson stressed that everything must be done so that this bneginning will be followed by further disarmament agreements in all spheres. Both politicians stressed that disarmament processes could be supported with the creation of nuclear weapons-free zones. In this connection, the efforts of the six states and Erich Honecker's proposal for a conference on problems of nuclear weapons-free zones were praised.

The Swedish foreign minister accepted with thanks an invitation to pay an official visit to the GDR.

After their talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, Oscar Fischer and Sten Andersson signed two accords which augment the proven system of treaties between the two states. They are an accord on the provision of medical care for persons on a temporary stay.

After this, Oskar Fischer had a meeting with representatives of the Johnson concern—one of Scandinavia's largest industrial and trading companies, which for many years has maintained good and long-term trade links with the GDR and other socialist countries. [passage omitted]

This evening, Swedish Minister of Housing Hans Gustafsson gave a dinner in honor of the guests from the GDR.

GDR Notes PLO International Solidarity Day

Perez de Cuellar Cabled

AU302048 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
28-29 Nov 87 p 3

["Telegram to Secretary General Perez de Cuellar: Peace Requires a Comprehensive, Lasting Middle East Solution"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)— Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and the chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to UN General Secretary Javier Perez de Cuellar:

Very distinguished Mr General Secretary,

The GDR uses the "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People" as an occasion to reaffirm its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and of their only legitimate representative, the PLO.

The fact causes serious concern that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to form a state of their own, have not yet been realized and that the Middle East remains in a state of explosive tension.

It is a requirement of common sense to settle international conflicts and controversial issues peacefully, by means of dialogue on the basis of equal rights and strict respect for the UN Charter.

Peace and the guarantee of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people as well as of the security of all states of the region require a comprehensive, lasting solution of the conflict. In the GDR's opinion such a solution can be achieved by convening an international Middle East conference under UN sponsorship with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

Obstacles that still exist on the road to a conference should be eliminated as quickly as possible, through good will and realism. Very distinguished Mr General Secretary, the GDR appreciates your efforts aimed toward this end.

Yours respectfully,

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and

Chairman of the GDR State Council.

Honecker Greets 'Arafat

AU011058 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
28-29 Nov 87 p 3

["On International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People; GDR Support of Just Struggle Confirmed; Greetings Message of Erich Honecker to Yasir 'Arafat"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following telegram to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the armed forces of the Palestinian revolution:

Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat,

On the occasion ot the "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People" I convey to you, the PLO Executive Committee, and the friendly Palestinian people cordial congratulations of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, and the GDR people.

I use this opportunity to assure you anew of the lasting friendship and solidarity of the GDR people with the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under PLO leadership. It is our firm conviction that the consistent combination of the forces of reason and realism in all regions of the earth are a prerequisite for and, at the same time, a guarantee of the prevention of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and the just and peaceful regulation of conflicts.

Just like the PLO, the GDR decidedly advocates the convocation of an international Middle East conference under the auspices of the United Nations. All interested parties, including the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should take part in it with equal rights.

Dear Comrade 'Arafat, accept my sincere wishes for a successful activity and for health and creative vigor.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

SED Greets French Communist Party Congress

AU031251 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
2 Dec 87 p 1

["Fraternal SED Greetings to French Communists; Central Committee Wishes Success to 26th Congress of the Communist Party of France"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has addressed the following greetings message signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to the 26th Congress of the French Communist Party [PCF] starting in Paris today Wednesday [2 December]:

Dear Comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 26th Congress and to all PCF members.

The GDR Communists are firmly standing at your side in your consistent struggle for the vital interests of the workers class and all working people of France. We confirm our internationalist solidarity in the spirit of the many years of joint traditions of the German and French Communists.

Both parties stand in the front line in the struggle by all forces of peace, reason, and realism to prevent the danger of a nuclear inferno and to safeguard peace. The constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the work of the worldwide peace movement of nations, as well as realistic, responsible circles in the capitalist countries, has created a real chance for a turning point toward disarmament and peace. The agreement between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles can open up the way to the destruction of all nuclear weapons in the world. We agree with you that this aim requires increased efforts by everyone who is concerned about the peaceful existence of mankind. We have great respect for the commitment of French Communists in the peace movement of your country and your support for the expansion of cooperation between our two states in the interest of peace and for the mutual benefit of our peoples.

The GDR is making its own contribution to detente, disarmament and equal cooperation in Europe with its active policy of dialogue and peaceful coexistence. It is thus acting in accordance with its historical responsibility to do everything to ensure that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace.

On the basis of the 11th SED Congress resolutions the working people of the GDR are shaping socialist society and are safeguarding its stable political and dynamic economic development through great achievements. The proven policy of our party aimed at the well-being of the people, the creative application of the of Marx', Engels', and Lenin's teachings in accordance with the masses, as well as the vitality of socialist democracy guarantee that the GDR will continue to stride ahead successfully.

Dear Comrades: We wish your 26th Party Congress success. May its decisions contribute to enhancing the PCF's fighting strength and its influence in the interest of the French working people and lend fresh impetus to your struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

With communist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

General secretary

Hager Addresses Socialist Writers in Berlin

LD301915 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1513 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 30 Nov ADN—Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Sed Central Committee, today met the heads of delegations who are taking part in the 23d meeting of the executive of writers' associations from socialist countries in Berlin from 27 November to 1 December. He briefed the guests on the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and the contribution of culture and art in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

The heads of delegations had had an opportunity to gain an insight on an excursion to the Erfurt Area into the development of this area and to acquaint themselves with results in the economic and cultural spheres.

The participants in the talks agreed that the most important task of the moment remained the struggle for peace and disarmament and that everything had to be done to strengthen socialism. Activities of the Socialist Writers' Associations could make a significant contribution to this.

Taking part in the meeting were the members of the SED Central Comittee; and Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers' Association.

Sindermann Chairs People's Chamber Presidium

LD081807 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber Presidium on Tuesday convened the fifth session of the People's Chamber for 1000 on Friday, 18 December 1987, in Berlin.

The meeting which was chaired by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, confirmed the proposals for the agenda. According to the agenda, the supreme people's representative body will deal with the draft laws for the 1988 national economic plan and for the 1988 state budget plan. The plan documents are proposed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the finance minister. Speakers from the People's Chamber groups will speak in the debate.

Other draft laws will also be debated and voted on. The Presidium has sent them to the relevant People's Chamber committees for discussion.

The Presidium also discussed tasks of the People's Chamber for the first half year of 1988.

KISZ, Government Leaders View Policy Goals

LD050011 Budapest MTI in English 1820 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—As reported, leaders of the government and the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) Central Committee Friday met and discussed the youth policy tasks related to the economic stabilization period, the concepts of the KISZ Central Committee on the streamlining of housing.

On timely youth policy issues:

The KISZ identifies with the targets set down in the government's work programme, and mobilizes young people in the interests of attaining these. At the same time it will indicate if it experiences delay and uncertainty in the implementation. In the knowledge of the targets of the stabilization period, the reorganization of youth policy has become necessary. In this interest the government is to prepare—with the participation of the KISZ Central Committee—a youth policy plan of tasks in 1988. This has to include the reform of the housing management system which keeps the interests of young people in view, and a comprehensive programme for the employment of the great number of young people who are to become earners in the first part of the 1990s. The KISZ Central Committee agrees with the government preparing the modernization of the youth law. The government is to work out the system of safeguarding the real values of family allowances and scholarships in 1988-

The KISZ considers it necessary to eliminate the system of wage categories. The government strives for a standpoint coordinated with the trade unions, the KISZ and other social organizations in the issue of wage reform. Participants of the conference agreed that the financial and moral appreciation of young professionals and technical intellectuals should be improved in 1988.

The KISZ takes notice of the fact that the monetary means intended for youth policy goals in the stabilization period cannot be increased to the detriment of the budget. It is, however, necessary to regroup certain sums to these goals from other areas. The government continues to ensure the opportunity for the KISZ Central Committee to decide on the utilization of a part of the financial means earmarked for youth policy aims for the budget.

On streamlining the housing policy:

The government considers as useful the work of the Communist Youth Union carried out to date in the interest of the comprehensive further development of housing management.

In 1988 the government is to follow the development of negotiated home prices with increased attention.

On the modernization of higher education and attention to talent:

The Communist Youth Union holds it necessary to safeguard the real value of financial supply of higher education, and to dynamically increase it in the following year. The government cannot ensure this in 1988, however, it considers it justified to increase the budgetary support of higher education in a way that adapts to the performance of national economy.

Under the current budgetary conditions, the government is to amend, with the inclusion of the KISZ, the system of scholarship distribution, and will abolish the upper limit of social scholarships in the interest of better enforcing the principle of appreciating performance.

Social Security To Offset Price Increases

AU031031 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Nov 87 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "Social Security: 4 Billion Forints To Counterbalance Price Increases"]

[Text] For reasons that are well known, consumer prices have been increased several times this year. Whenever central price increases were introduced, social security attempted to offset the burden through its own means of payment of pensions, other benefits, children's allowances, and family allowances to people entitled to them. In April there was an extra social security payment of 2.1 billion forints as a result of the central price increases.

In August, the allowances were again raised by 100 forints, and family allowances by 50 forints. At this time, social security counted on a surplus expenditure of 1.9 billion forints. But at present, when the expected total expenditure this year is being assessed, financial experts find decreases in certain categories. The number of people who retired was smaller than planned, and this somewhat slowed down the expenditures on pensions.

This year, the budget allocated 152 billion forints for social security payments. The billions of forints that had to be paid as a result of the then foreseeable price increases in the spring had been taken into account in this amount. The expected full amount of the expected expenditures this year will be 153.7 billion forints.

According to present evaluations, the amount of 207.2 billion forints will appear in the budgetary column devoted to the expenditures of social security next year. Of this amount, 17.6 billion forints will be spent on offsetting the expected price increases. The amount of 14.7 billion forints will be devoted to supporting the needy in the purchase of medicine and medical appliances.

It is already public knowledge that next year, agricultural cooperatives will pay 33 and 40 percent social security contributions also for their members, similar to their

contributions for their employees. But the payment of sickness and birth allowances which have so far been paid out of the cooperatives' own funds will be accepted by social security. The plan allocates 1.3 billion forints for this purpose.

As far as revenues are concerned, contributions to social security will increase to 196.2 billion forints next year as a result of jumps in wages and changes that will occur in agricultural cooperatives. But social security will not be able to cover its expenses despite the increase. It will have a deficit of about 11 billion forints, which will have to be supplemented from the state budget once again.

University Cafeteria Prices Prompt Boycott

LD081448 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] [Announcer] Although it is lunchtime, 2,200 students of the Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest are not going to the students cafeteria. Jozsef Fodor has asked Istvan Vadasz, head of the rector's office, and KISZ Secretary Gyula Horvath to explain why:

[Begin recording] [Fodor] Before I ask you...

[Vadasz, interrupting] I know, you want to ask me about the cafeteria boycott.

[Fodor] You seem to know everything. Do you also know that I am sitting in a studio and recording this conversation?

[Vadasz] I understand.

[Fodor] Did the rector's office and the rector himself know what the young people were preparing, and did they agree?

[Vadasz] Yes, we must take some action because none of the negotiations we have tried so far have had any results.

[Fodor] And do you think that a boycott like this is the right step?

[Vadasz] No. This action was chosen by the students.

[Fodor] Is it not your duty to provide suitable food for your students?

[Vadasz] We have tried everything. It was not long ago that we opened a brand new cafeteria run by the catering enterprise. It has brand new equipment. I could almost describe the conditions as the best in the country, and it is the best-equipped student cafeteria. But we cannot guarantee quality because we do not cook the food. We have done our utmost to ensure that the caterers fulfill their contract.

[Fodor] I gather that it was the student section of the University Council which called for the boycott and not KISZ. Does KISZ support this action?

[Horvath] Yes, we support it.

[Fodor] So there is complete unity and no one will have lunch there today?

[Horvath] I hope so. I believe the demands are justified, and this is why we have given our support. I think all alternative avenues and possibilities have been exhausted.

[Fodor] Do you think the catering enterprise will be forced to its knees by your will or boycott?

[Horvath] It is likely, yes. [end recording]

[Announcer] The students are complaining not about the quality of food but primarily about the prices. But the Pest-Buda Catering Enterprise says that since the markup on cheaper dishes is the same as that on the more expensive ones—and in any case, the enterprise has a vested interest in turnover—the enterprise is doing well if it can offer the students dishes which might be better suited to the menu of a higher-class restaurant. The economics students expect a change in these conditions as a result of today's cafeteria boycott.

Social Conditions in Borsod County 'Shocking'

AU031311 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 30 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Maria Lukacs: "One Lives as Long as His Living Conditions Permit"]

[Excerpts] The trade unions have paid tribute to health preservation with a series of events held in Borsod County in November. The purpose of the events was to draw and maintain attention to a matter that can be considered close to everyone's heart. However, health maintenance is not an isolated task; it depends on the social environment and circumstances. That is, we must be aware of this fact in dealing with health preservation and we should not for a moment neglect to improve those factors that have a negative impact on our health.

All this goes far beyond the rather strong national program on health maintenance. However, declarations about good nutrition and a modern way of living are dwarfed by the need to alleviate the serious problems in the county. The issue was clarified at a general meeting held to mark this series of events. Mrs Ferenc Szucs, secretary of the Borsod County Council of Trade Unions, delivered a report, revealing to her audience shocking facts about the social situation in Borsod County and the disadvantageous conditions characteristic of practically the entire county: 50 percent of the people live in villages; 60 percent of the settlements have populations under 1,000; and in 124 villages the number

of inhabitants is under 500. The proportion of the gypsy population is 10 percent, and among the population under 14, their share is 36 percent. [passage omitted]

The present situation, which cannot at all be called favorable, will clearly be further aggravated by labor regrouping and cuts that accompany structural reorganization. The search for jobs will certainly be made difficult by the large number of unskilled workers, and the low level of general education: Not even 50 out of 100 people looking for jobs have finished elementary school. Salaries also reflect the disadvantageous situation of Borsod. Per capita savings, which last year lagged 8,500 forints behind the national average, is characteristic of this situation. Some 8,000 people live on less than 2,500 forints a month, and 205,000 people live on 2,500 forints. The average monthly pension of the 156,000 retired people is 3,291 forints. Some 31,000 people live in settlements that are inadequate from the social welfare point of view. According to the evaluation of the county council, 25 percent of the population are poor; this situation can only slightly be remedied by the annual social aid of 140 million forints. [passage omitted]

SFRY's Dizdarevic on Development of Relations

LD090132 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2120 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Interview with Raif Dizdarevic, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, by reporter Peter Nyarady; in Hungary; date not given—live or recorded; Dizdarevic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Nyarady] We have grown accustomed to regular meetings between high-level Hungarian and Yugoslav leaders in past years. This reflects the good and balanced character of the relationship, and provides the possibility for development at the same time. The visit of the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs has been characterized, in addition to the things already mentioned, by the fact that it took place at a very important time for the international situation, as preparations had just been completed in Washington for the summit of the leaders of the two superpowers. Therefore, first of all, I asked Raif Dizdarevic about his assessment of the summit and the changes he expected from it, particularly regarding the central European region.

[Dizdarevic] Naturally, the mere fact that Reagan and Gorbachev are meeting for the third time in 2 years is something we consider very positive. We know what went along with the tension that existed between the superpowers in the past. In my opinion, the fact that the medium- and shorter-range nuclear missile disarmament and elimination agreement will be signed during the summit is of historic significance. After 40 years of the arms race, it will be the first such event. We hope that this first step will be followed by others. I think here of the possibility that the agreement in the nuclear sphere could be followed by a reduction of other nuclear weapons, or even by an agreement on cuts in conventional armaments.

Resulting from all of this, the general atmosphere in the world may become more relaxed. It could also result in the start of negotiations to solve the world's economic problems, for example. In this regard, nothing really has changed; in addition, the difference between the advanced and developing countries is growing even greater. The most conspicious proof of this is the enormous debt that is such a heavy burden on debtors, when in fact they need precisely the opposite, that is, incentives for their progress.

All this notwithstanding, I think that the process of detente cannot be a permanent one if the other countries of the world do not participate in it too, in addition to the superpowers. After all, there have been periods of detente between the two superpowers in the past, as well. However, the fact that these came about not as a result of the efforts of all countries made these periods unstable. Breaks in the relationship of the superpowers always occurred. In other words, great, small, and medium-sized ones need to make efforts together. [Nyarady] Today we can observe something of a trend in which the superpowers increasingly endeavor to carry out global politics. In such a situation, do you think there is hope for a dialogue on an equal footing among the great, medium, and smaller-sized countries?

[Dizdarevic] You know, I think that a special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the superpowers. The arms race was not started by the small states. Since it involved the superpowers, it is understandable that they are the ones who must begin negotiations about it. As for the role of other countries, I am deeply convinced that a dialogue between the superpowers wouldn't even have started had they been not subjected to pressure initiated by the other states of the world. In other words, if I may say so, it is not the result of their subjective decision. Regarding particular points of crisis, or in other words the regions where local conflicts have developed, the superpowers must participate in the solution of these problems, but only with the participation of all the countries affected.

[Nyarady] Let us now speak about your negotiations in Budapest. What were the most important issues raised and what concrete agreements did you conclude?

[Dizdarevic] In accordance with the protocol of such visits, we reviewed the development of the relationship between the two neighboring socialist countries. We placed special emphasis on problems of economic cooperation. We are concerned that a certain stagnation, and even a decline, can be observed here. We spoke about the way this setback could be halted and the way in which the level of cooperation already achieved could be maintained. We spoke in great detail about the methods that

can be used to modernize our bilateral economic relations. This could be the increase of the number of joint production and technological enterprises, and possibly joint research in certain areas. The establishment of joint ventures is also a possibility. In addition to this, issues of lesser importance also were raised, primarily to ensure that these should not damage the good atmosphere of our relations. For example, one of these is the compulsory exchange of dinars by Yugoslav citizens, which is criticized by many in our country. Talking about this issue, we have agreed with Prime Minister Grosz that we will work to find a joint solution. With this, too, I only want to underline that our negotiations embraced all questions and that we did not avoid controversial or unresolved issues.

[Nyarady] I would like to ask you about a detail of the two countries' relations. To be precise, how do you evaluate the situation of the national minorities in the two countries? Is the situation in this field good, or are there still unresolved issues?

[Dizdarevic] I can state with absolute certainty that in Yugoslav-Hungarian relations the national minorities represent elements of rapprochement and friendship for the very reason that there is a consistent approach to the nationalities problem on both sides. This approach can be described as positive because its starting point is that the full range of rights, nationality rights, must be guaranteed, and at the same time, that there must be a guarantee of their full equality of rights with the other citizens of the country in every sphere of social life and, of course, reciprocally in both countries.

[Nyarady] Could it be said that the development of the situation of the nationalities in the two countries could be held up as a model here in Eastern Europe or in central Europe?

[Dizdarevic] Well, look, one of the experiences in the development of relations between countries is that models have become debatable, since there was a time when efforts were made to force models onto individual countries. For this reason, I would not say that this is a model nor would I speak of models. On the other hand, I am of the view that insofar as we can maintain the present state of affairs and can continue the nationality policies begun in the two countries, we will be able to enrich universal practice in the general endeavor and trends of the equality of rights of nationalities, of the full equality of their rights. With this, we will promote the strengthening of the rights of every single person on earth.

[Nyarady] In the past 10 years, Yugoslavia has done a great deal in the interests of the country's democratization. This is easily perceived in the openness of the press. One can sense that the critical tone is of an ever- higher standard and extends to more and more things, including the activities of the government, as well.

[Dizdarevic] The activities of the government most of all.

[Nyarady] How long do you think the government will be able to tolerate these attacks, since even parliament occasionally has openly criticized the decisions of the government? Will there perhaps be changes in the government as a result of this?

[Dizdarevic] Look, if we have decided to give scope to open criticism, then we also must accept all the consequences of open criticism. Open criticism does not exist for its own sake. I do not think that criticism means only destruction. In this sense... [Dizdarevic changes thought] In other words, this is the way I see criticism, and I am of the view that the aim of criticism is not the overthrow of the government. On the contrary, its objective is that the government should work better. Naturally, the government takes note of these voices. I am a member of this government and I tell you that this is so. The government strives for changes, for improvement in every field that comes in for justified criticism supported by facts.

Soviet Leaders Cable Thanks for GOSR Greetings

LD050013 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union have cabled their thanks to Janos Kadar, Karoly Nemeth and Karoly Grosz for the greetings and good wishes forwarded on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Agreement Signed With PRC Science Academy

LD011828 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 1 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—Ferenc Marta, vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and Teng Teng, vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, signed a scientific cooperation agreement Tuesday in Budapest.

Under the agreement, the sides are to reciprocally familiarize each other with their scientific results, and researchers of the two countries are to hold exchanges of experiences and carry out studies in the institutes of the other country. The two academies support cooperation between their institutions and laboratories, and are to brief each other on the implementation of this working plan.

The delegation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, which has been visiting Hungary since November 24, held talks with leaders of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and visited several research institutes of the academy, and various universities.

Reaction to Signing of U.S.-USSR INF Treaty

Jaruzelski Letter

LD1082200 Warsaw PAP in English 2112 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—Following is a letter sent by President of the Council of State of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski to Secretary General of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan:

In the name of the supreme authorities of the Polish People's Republic and the whole Polish nation I convey to you expressions of respect and sincere appreciation in connection with the signing of the historic treaty on the elimination of short and medium range nuclear missiles today. We join the great nations of the Soviet Union and the United States at a moment which is so important for them and the whole world.

That which until recently seemed impossible is becoming reality at present. Polish society highly values your, Mikhail Sergeyevich, and your, Mr President, feeling of responsibility and great, personal contribution to the achieved cause.

The first significant step has been taken on the road leading to a world free of nuclear arms. The signing of the treaty notably confirms the fact that lowering the level of armaments, while preserving balance between the security of the sides, is entirely feasible. We also welcome with hope the prospect of new agreements, especially those concerning a fundamental reduction of the strategic nuclear arms of both superpowers.

It is our ardent wish for the Washington agreement, which reflects new thinking and a constructive approach to the key issues of the modern world, to bear fruit on the possibly greatest scale through an increase of confidence and detente, development of equal-rights cooperation between states and nations, creatively harmonizing common interests and the interests of each country.

This is of special importance to Europe. Poland, which has experienced so much suffering and knows the value of peace so well, does not spare efforts to make our continent, the seed of two world wars, contribute significantly to the search for new solutions. They should effectively contribute to overcoming divisions and mutual distrust, to strengthening the security of all states through a radical lowering of armaments and the development of comprehensive cooperation in the spirit and letter of the CSCE Final Act.

In these memorable days the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States are accompanied by the cordial thoughts and support of our nation, accompanied by warm-hearted wishes for your historic dialogue to end in full success.

'Historic Dimension' Cited

LD090007 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 8 Dec 87

[From the "World Panorama" program presented by Jan Gadomski]

[Text] [Gadomski] We naturally begin today's "World Panorama" with a report on the most important event, which the world, with no exaggeration, is calling historic. Over to our special correspondent Krzysztof Wojna. Come in, Washington.

[Wojna] The historic dimension of the event which we have witnessed today does not just lie in the fact that a treaty was signed eliminating one type of nuclear weapon. The point is that, for the first time in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, the barrier of distrust blocking the way to cooperation—and not only in the sphere of disarmament—has been broken.

Distrust remains, of course, and is certainly very strong. It turns out, however, that it has been possible to make such a breakthrough, which opens up before both nations and before the whole world real hopes of the removal of the threat of nuclear destruction.

Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech before the signing of the agreement, said, among other things: May 8 December 1987 be a day which will go into the history books, a day which will separate the era of growing danger of nuclear war from the era of the demilitarization of human life. The Soviet leader sees the agreement as a first step toward a world free of nuclear arms. The next step should be the 50 percent reduction of strategic arsenals. Then chemical and conventional arms should be eliminated. In other words, the vision brought to the United States by the general secretary of the Soviet party is based on the continuity of disarmament processes; there is no room for hesitations and doubts or for time-wasting.

From the very first moment, from the moment he left the aircraft, Mikhail Gorbachev electrified the Americans with his energy, his ease of manner, and the fact that he was very obviously sure of himself—not as a result of a sense of superiority but from a conviction that his case is right. The Americans have grown unaccustomed to this type of leader and it is not because in this case this is a Soviet leader—quite simply the Americans see in him a man who answers their notion of what a great statesman should be and how he should act. The surprise is all the greater since, for the last 8 years, the U.S. President has been an old man, now visibly tired, unable to appear in front of Mikhail Gorbachev in the position of an equal. I would not be surprised if it turned out that the Soviet leader had significant influence on the U.S. presidential elections. The Americans feel an unconscious need to match Mikhail Gorbachev with a man who would represent the same values. Superpower prestige, one could say, has been enriched with new parameters.

I limit myself to these remarks, because the ceremony of signing an agreement on medium-range missiles has very plainly shown the difference both between the two leaders and the programs of the two sides: on the Soviet side it is a very detailed and broad program for peace—and that on a world scale.

The Americans also speak of peace, but on a more modest scale; one feels the hesitations and the apprehensions. This could be felt in Ronald Reagan's speech. A possible reason for this is that Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in the United States with the certainty that the program he is putting forward is blessed with the support of the whole of the Soviet leadership. Ronald Reagan has no such certainty. On the contrary, he must take into account very serious problems from the very outset. The opponents of the agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles are very vociferous, and although one does not expect the agreement to be rejected by the U.S. Senate, the ratification procedure may turn out to be very complicated.

'Creation of a Precedent'

LD090942 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Station commentary presented by Jan Gadomski]

[Text] It can be said without exaggeration that something has happened which the world was waiting for. The real avalanche of statements by politicians, scholars, clergy, and artists, by the so-called simple people expressing joy due to the first nuclear disarmament agreement in history is proof of this. Voices of people who link their plans and usurpations with the arms race and a confrontation between the powers were stifled by this moment of positive reaction full of hope. This does not mean that those people have changed their opinions or lost their influence but that for the moment they have fallen silent waiting for a more suitable moment. If there is to be such a moment, we will find out later.

Precisely, what will happen later? The value of the signed treaty depends mainly on the creation of a precedent. It is true that Europe, including Poland, will become a safer place after the liquidation of hundreds of their missiles and nuclear warheads, but that is only 3-4 percent of the collected potential of nuclear weapons in the world. What about the rest, what after this? That will be the subject of talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. The most imminent aim is to achieve agreement on the liquidation of one-half of the nuclear strategic arms. If this is achieved, it will be the next historical success of not only the two powers and two leaders, but also their allies and partners; a departure from the path of the arms race, confrontation, and the threat of nuclear annihilation; and a move on to the path of disarmament, cooperation, and general security. That is Poland's aim.

Peace Meeting Sends Cable

LD070037 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 6 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—"For the first time the chance of real nuclear disarmament is becoming possible. Your summit in Washington meets our long time concerns and expectations for a major breakthrough in armaments race. We strongly support the expected signing of the INF treaty and sincerely hope that this will be the first and historical step towards a disarmed and peaceful world.

"We appeal to you, the leaders of two great nations, to continue this process along with all other states for the benefit of humanity."

This is the cable sent to Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev by the participants in the international meeting "Peace Movements—Challenges and Chances for Europe" which ended here December 6. The conference was attended by representatives of peace movements, religious organizations and scientific institutions which deal with those problems as well as by individual peace activists from the majority of European states-members of the CSCE, from the U.S. and Canada.

The debate discussed such questions as peace and security in Europe in the context of the elimination of nuclear threat, the creation of nuclear-free zones, the rarifying of conventional armaments. The meeting also touched upon all-European cooperation in the aspect of the consolidation of Europe's identity. Those issues concerned above all the influence of the CSCE process on the development of European ties including the economic cooperation and technical and scientific progress, cooperation in the field of human rights and humanitarian questions as well as the common concern about the cultural heritage.

Soviet Film on Superpower Missiles Televised

LD072310 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 7—Soviet documentary "Risk" directed by D. Barshchevski, depicting the history of rivalry between the two superpowers in the development of missiles and nuclear weapons was shown on Polish TV at prime time tonight.

The film which presented this rivarly against the background of the most significant political developments in the postwar history of the world showed unique documentary pictures of architects of the Soviet programme of development and production of missiles, including Sergey Korolov, their main designer.

The film also speaks of Stalin in a manner not void of critical remarks.

Further on Orzechowski's Visit to Britain

PAP Reviews Visit

LD072306 Warsaw PAP in English 2247 GMT 7 Dec 87

[By PAP correspondent Mariusz Kuklinski]

[Text] London, Dec. 7—On the first day of his three-day official visit to Britain at the invitation of British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski today met with British Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Kenneth Clarke.

During the meeting the sides assessed selected aspects of economic cooperation between Poland and Great Britain, including credit cooperation. The sides also touched upon the accessibility of Polish exports to the British market.

Secretary Clarke informed the Polish guest that early next year the British Government intends to send a British trade mission to Poland to examine possibilities of expanding trade and economic cooperation between Poland and Britain on the spot.

Minister Orzechowski also paid a visit to the British Parliament today. He was entertained to dinner by members of the British-Polish parliamentary group headed by Ralph Howell, M.P.

Orzechowski met with the Labour Party's Parliamentary Deputy Spokesman for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Donald Anderson.

Another meeting at the Westminister Palace took place at the House of Lords where the Polish guest was welcomed by Parliamentary Spokesman of the House of Lords Lord Bonham Carter who is co-chairman of the British-Polish Round Table. The British interlocutors, like in other meetings, expressed lively interest in the reforms taking place in Poland. The sides also discussed issues related to the round table meeting scheduled to be held in Poland next May.

In the morning Orzechowski laid a wreath at the foot of the monument to Polish pilots in Northolt near London.

Meets Howe, Thatcher 8 Dec

LD081943 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Boguslaw Woloszanski report from London]

[Excerpt] Today is the second day of the official visit to London by Foreign minister Marian Orzechowski. He had a meeting with British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. During the talk, bilateral relations were reviewed, and the need was pointed out for further all-round development and closer contacts in all spheres of cooperation. The minister discussed the most important issues of the international situation, focussing on problems of disarmament and arms control, in light of such recent events as the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to London and the summit of the leaders of the two superpowers. Particular attention was paid to Polish initiatives. In the afternoon, Minister Orzechowski signed a British-Polish agreement on the protection of investments. This is a legal document that will facilitate economic cooperation and enable greater involvement of British capital in cooperation with Poland.

At 1800 Warsaw time, Minister Marian Orzechowski was received by Premier Margaret Thatcher. During their 30-minute talk, they discussed the main problems of bilateral relations and of the international situation, pointing to the need to maintain political dialogue at all levels. [passage omitted]

Investment Agreement Signed

LD090024 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] London, Dec. 8—Signed here today, the Polish-British bilateral agreement for the promotion and protection of investments says the investment projects it provides for will be neither nationalized nor expropriated. Should a need for that arise, for the public good—immediate, appropriate, effective compensation would be paid.

The compensation would also be paid should extraordinary circumstances occur in the territory of any of the sides. Each party will grant to the investments made in its territory by the other, as well as to the profits derived from them, a treatment no less favourable than that granted to investors from any other third-party state enjoy. [sentence as receiced] It is, thus, a most-favoured-nation status of its kind.

The agreement will remain in force for ten years, although its provisions will preserve their validity for 15 more years after the agreement expires towards the investments undertaken while the agreement was still in force. The document guarantees the investors an unlimited transfer of liabilities due from investments and profits in convertible currencies, under the stipulation that in case of exceptional balance-of-payments difficulties each party will be able to apply, within a definite period of time, in a just way and good faith, prerogatives stemming from its own legislation. These prerogatives, though, will not hamper transfer of profit, interest, dividends, and license liabilities, etc. With respect to investment projects and other forms of income, prompt transfer of at least 20 per cent annually in convertible currency is guaranteed.

The agreement was signed today by Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, now on an official visit to Great Britain, and by Britain's Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe.

Thatcher Plans 1988 Visit

LD090022 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] London, Dec. 8—During a meeting at Ten Downing Street today, visiting Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, acting on behalf of Poland's supreme state authorities, extended an invitation to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to pay a visit to Poland.

Mrs Thatcher said she would be glad to visit Poland and hoped she could come next year. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

Government Presidium Examines Economic Decree

LD072208 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 7—The government presidium today acquainted itself with a draft decree on the list of enterprises of key importance for the national economy in which general managers are nominated and recalled by a founding body.

In line with the announcement contained in the Sejm expose delivered by the premier on October 10, the number of these enterprises is to fall notably. The draft decree will be forwarded for consultations with the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance OPZZ.

The government Presidium acquainted itself with the draft decree of the Council of Ministers on starting and developing the production of a fuel-efficient passenger car between 1991-2001.

The joint Polish-Italian venture is aimed at starting the production of a new, small-size car at the small car factory in Bielsko Bialain 1991.

The new car, that is to replace the Fiat 126P car currently being produced there, will be bigger in size, five-passenger with fuel consumption of about 4 litres per 100 km.

The technological solutions and design of the new car will meet the highest world standards. The share of imported parts used in its production as well as material- and energy-consumption will fall.

Supplies of a majority of machines and equipment for production will be covered from a long-term credit to be paid back by the factory in the form of completed automobiles to be distributed by the Fiat dealers' network.

Roundup of 25 Nov PZPR 6th Plenum Speeches

AU021903 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 87 pp 3, 4, 5, 6

[Roundup of speeches from the floor at the 25 November Sixth PZPR Plenum in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Ryszard Bierut, Central Committee member and private farmer in Sosnowa, Kamieniec Zabkowicki Gmina, Walbrzych Voivodship:

We are afraid of red tape. We are afraid that we will have to submit various "documents," even if the simplest of decisions is to be made. I wish I could hope that in the reformed state, that which is socially logical and justified will not be annihilated by red tape difficulties, that we will be able to trust each other, that our credibility will be rewarded by bank loans, profitability, and specific achievements, and that a citizen's identity card and depositions will be enough for him to have his business dealt with. [passage omitted]

Jan Olszewski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the communications equipment plant in Kalisz:

My party organization has instructed me to speak at this plenum. People say that the second stage of economic reform is a good thing, but our work force still continues to regard it as a slogan that one can applaud, while indulging in the old practices.

Everyone continues to applaud the goals of economic reform, but not everyone is pleased with the methods by which these goals are to be achieved. The old habits, customs, and ossified mentality die hard, but they are alive and kicking right now.

Although people no longer defend the methods of economic management that existed before the reform, are aware of the obsoleteness of those methods, and stress the advantages of independent enterprises, they erect barriers to reforming efforts.

When people learn that their enterprise will be able to run by itself in line with the new methods only when it has modernized its organizational and production structures, they stop applauding the reform, not out of habit, but because they are uncertain whether these new structures will really work.

The three "S's" constituted the slogan of the first stage of economic reform, but people hardly remember them now. Self-management is not what we expected it to be, and self-financing and self-reliance are even worse. Enterprises have no say in many decisions, because decisions are beyond them, which means that the work of party organization is not easy. But the party statute and resolutions oblige party members to oppose any attempts to curb innovations in favor of the old system. They must keep

watch over reforms and must reject half-measures or expedient manipulations of views, which is done in order to win applause. [Passage omitted]

Zbigniew Stawinski, Central Committee member, turner, and foreman at the Bumar-Warynski gear plant in Stargard Szczecinski:

Despite its achievements, economic reform has still not eliminated various shortcomings. It is unfortunate that administration has not been reduced and that we still have to carry out many control checks and write very long accountability reports, which are sent to all possible addressees, but we do not always know why.

We know that economic reform is a living organism, but we do not know why frequent experiments were carried out on this organism and various plans, instructions, indexes, and accounting methods were changed at the drop of the hat.

We have doubts about the guarantee that economic reform will be successful, and we would be very happy if someone could give us this guarantee, but I think this is impossible. We all have to provide this guarantee by jointly realizing the reform. Although we continue to ask for the names of those who should be responsible for the reform countrywide, it is out of the question that a single person should be made responsible in this way. What should the responsibility of workers, brigade leaders, and foremen be? No one will be able to stop waste for us. We have to stop it ourselves. A government man will not switch off the light in the canteen during the breakfast break. Nor will he switch off machine tools or ventilators that have been switched on for no reason at all. The truth is that, while we continue to wait for general solutions and effective systems, tonnes and tonnes of raw materials, thousands and thousands of kilowatts of electric power, and entire loads of fuels continue to be wasted.

Our economy must be put right. What it needs is for us to work normally, put our shoulders to the "party wheel," and refuse to be governed by cliques, rumors, and moods. We workers have always followed the wise recipe that we should not panic and should not let anyone make us go mad. [passage omitted]

Eugeniusz Mroz, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee:

If we regard the Marxist concept of work as man's self-realization, then our program for socialist renewal and for accelerating Poland's development creates conditions for the Marxist moral, individual, and collective dimension of work and is not in any crucial conflict with the ecclesiastical doctrine about the role and place of work in man's life. This should provide additional opportunities for the Poles, who are mostly believers, to engage in joint reflections.

Let me mention another extremely important sociomoral issue: the place of the individual in socialism, in its ideals, and in its real values. This place has been termed socialist personalism. This view of man in our sociopolitical system constitutes a basic and bold challenge to the contemporary world's system of values. In this connection we should hope that the party representatives of the social sciences and the theoreticians of socialism will develop this new concept, which is a great inspiration for our imagination, in order to benefit our practice. [passage omitted]

Zenon Slowikowski, Central Committee member and machine operator in the Plock petrochemical combine:

This month we have held over 140 meetings of all organizational echelons in our plant. There was no demagogy at these meetings, although people did not refrain from airing their criticism and anxieties. For example, they were skeptical about the 2-3 year period of "strictly tightening belts" and submitted many questions about the guarantees that the reform will succeed. They also expressed their obvious anxieties about how to survive from month to month, and said that the workers in the socialized sector have to shoulder the largest burdens of the crisis. They demanded that the individuals responsible for implementing economic reform should publicly account for their implementation efforts. Despite the critical tenor of these meetings, the participants stressed that economic reform may succeed and that there is no rational alternative to it.

People's awareness is the most difficult thing to reform and cannot be changed by decree. Changes in awareness take entire generations to take root. It is no joy if you have to wait dozens and dozens of years for the yields of your efforts. What is more, errors committed today also do enormous damage many years later. And yet everything is determined by people and their ideological awareness. That is why the rank-and-file party members expect new arguments and ideological support from those who are experts in ideology. Some people say that practice outstrips theory and not vice versa. I have even heard people say that what has been promised for the second stage of economic reform is a return to capitalism and amounts to a triumph of capitalism over socialism. We must be aware of the harmfulness of such views. We need radical measures in transforming one's awareness. We must not delay even for a moment in this regard. All the resources now available to the party and the state should be committed to this purpose, especially since we have to make good serious arrears in the ideological training of young people in order to develop their civil attitudes and make them overcome self-seeking and asocial egoism. [passage omitted]

Artur Bodnar, professor of Warsaw University:

Ten years ago we still continued to say that it is necessary to strengthen the party's leading role and to subject all features of social life to detailed party control. Today we

know that we have never been able to do this, except for a short time, and then only by means of spurious activities. Today we say that the fate of the people is in the hands of their vanguard, primarily in the hands of the two wings of this national vanguard: the Marxist and the Catholic wings, which are linked by the concern for the good of the Polish nation and state. [passage omitted]

Bogdan Borys, Central Committee member, metallurgical fitter, and brigade leader in the Bierut metallurgical plant in Czestochowa:

The people who are genuinely dedicated to the party are embittered that the party-sponsored programs express other communities' suggestions and views and not those put forward at party meetings.

For example, almost all party members think that constitutionally sanctioning private economic activities would actually result in restoring private ownership, which would induce some people to amass fortunes and not to support the realization of economic reform. [passage omitted]

Urszula Chuchro, Central Committee member, glass decorator, and brigade leader in the "Zawiercie" glass mill in Katowice Voivodship:

The party must cope with a double danger. On the one hand, it should beware of conservative trends, that is, of people who are against change and reforms. On the other hand, it should beware of the fact that economic and social changes can induce some people to try to exploit democratization for the struggle against the socialist and people's state.

How, then is our party to function in this qualitatively new situation? This is difficult to answer, but I think that individual influence exerted by party members is the most important task. Each of us must take personal responsibility for the success of the executive program for economic and political reforms. [passage omitted]

Julian Nuckowski, deputy chief of the Polish Scout Union:

Emigration of people, especially of young people, to earn money abroad has now become a serious problem. People often say that these emigrants look to the West for their lost or missed opportunities. What conclusions can we draw from this?

I think that insofar as broadly conceived upbringing is concerned, we should follow the principle that satisfying one's material needs should go hand in hand with fostering one's strong ties with the Polish state and things Polish. Our system should offer opportunities for a life that is satisfying, for fulfillment of one's dreams and wishes, and for whatever helps one to function normally. One of the conditions for this is one's own apartment. [passage omitted] Edward Lukasik, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Poznan Voivodship PZPR Committee:

We must not flee from the many ideological issues that have still not been fully clarified. Nor must we flee from the true or imagined anxieties of our party members with regard to, say, the class aspects of our changes, the party's ideological image, the forms and methods of the party's leading role in the reformed production enterprises, and the theoretical explanations of the processes of the present changes in the world socialist system.

I think that research into and solution of these issues must be accelerated and at least the initial results of this work should be presented to the National Conference of PZPR Delegates. These are exceptionally important political issues, which call for profound across-the-board deliberations.

Socialist pluralism, a fashionable term nowadays, continues to give rise to many controversies and even misunderstandings, which relate to the attempt to give this pluralism over-extensive ideological significance, rather than to the political nature of the party interpretation of it. It is primarily our adversaries who do this. Some party members are concerned about what they think is the over-extensive formula of pluralism proposed by the party. We should tell these members that we are in favor of political life that has many shapes and varieties, corresponding to the true differences within our society. Political realism and militancy in attracting sympathizers of socialism are the foundation of what we mean by pluralism. I think that this meaning should not give rise to ideological misunderstandings. [passage omitted]

Hieronim Kubiak, professor and chairman of the Council of the Polonia Institute of Krakow University:

As a party we are now in a situation in which we must not only present a ripe program for reforms to our people and defend this program with rational arguments, but also convince the decisive majority of our people with the help of the necessary data, including statistical data, that our intentions are sincere and that we are faithful to this program. A word of honor or some other solemn assurance will no longer do in this regard. We have had a surfeit of such formulas, and today no one will fall for them. In order to convince the decisive majority of the people and large segments of our party, we must above all be able to comprehend, without any fear, the reasons for the present particular accumulation of mistrust. We must be self-critical in recognizing that these reasons are quite real and that we must not identify them with the results of the activities by hostile forces, which certainly exist and which it would be downright stupid, not naive, to ignore. We should realize that we are the ones who create opportunities for our adversaries, because we are

unable to effectively fulfill our constitutional obligations and because there is a considerable gap between what we plan and what we actually achieve.

Jozef Sobolewski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the "San" sugar mill in Jaroslaw:

Our workers work productively, are modest, and trust that they will not lose anything through the second stage of the reform. Still, certain things undermine their moods.

Because we are unable to wrap up our products in a way that appeal to Western buyers, we cannot export our goods to the West, and the rhythm of our production suffers on this account. Will we have to export only coal, raw materials, and energy-intensive semifinished products? Little is being done to develop wrappings to the taste of the West. We have enough paper in Poland, but it is badly used. Someone may say: What is he talking about? This is an ideological plenum. But the thing is that, as far as our mills are concerned, ideology begins with and is tested by what I have just explained. [passage omitted]

Zbigniew Hanf, Central Committee member, miner, and chairman of the NSZZ in the "Staszic KWK" [expansion unknown] in Katowice:

You know and I know that not every party comrade and not everyone else likes what we do. Many party comrades are cross with us for continuing to demolish the old habits. Some are against our efforts to restore economic rules to their proper importance, some are disturbed that, concerned for the nation's future, we look for allies in all forces of society and seek to permanently settle the state-church relations, and some smell dangers in our new cadre policy—in making it possible for all talented and honest individuals to make careers without party cards.

For years we have nourished the conviction that we know perfectly well what socialism is and what it is not. We have been convinced that only state enterprise can be socialist, that a cooperative enterprise is not necessarily socialist, that money and profits are the ideas of perfidious capitalism, and that we would quickly build a new, magnificent world. Should we be ashamed of anything? We have not built a new and magnificent world, but we have certainly built a world that is much better and more equitable than before. Whoever denies this is not telling the truth. [passage omitted] Rajmund Borowicz, Central Committee member and brigade leader of fitters in the "Ema-Apator" electric equipment plant in Torun:

Today we have to combat our most difficult adversary: the fixed habits in man's awareness. It would be too easy to divide people into a large group of reformers and into the enemies of reforms —the bureaucrats, dogmatists, and those who are afraid of losing power or privileges.

In our ideological and educational activities we must not forget that quite a large group of workers are afraid of reforms, because they used to earn good incomes for moderate efforts and thus enjoyed relatively easy lives. Now the exacting tests of effectiveness applied to production workers have placed these people in a worse situation. [passage omitted]

Sedzimir Maciej Klimaszewski, professor, Central Committee member, and rector of Katowice University:

The transformation of social awareness should be assisted by the theoretical natural sciences. In our country and elsewhere in the world, features of irrationalism continue to increase. This cannot be favorable to rational social attitudes because rationalism is indivisible. Whoever thinks rationally, acts rationally. We cannot help being disturbed that a high ratio of students, including Polish students, reject the theory of evolution, and this in university departments of biology. We have researched this subject and have found out that many students believe in visitors from space, in spirits, and in apparitions. Although what I am saying applies to the entire system of education, even party training no longer includes any of the necessary materialistic and rational issues. This will have a bearing on the attitudes of party members and of our society. [passage omitted]

Jerzy Zwiefka, Central Committee member and departmental head in the timber plant in Tuchola:

I think that youth organizations should transform the way they function. We should ponder the young people's great inability to use the forms of organization available to them. They prefer to rally around informal groups that have no chiefs and are without any formalized superstructure.

Youth organizations should go for innovative methods of work, should abandon the methods of massive rallies and militancy for show, should foster and strengthen people-to-people relations, and should realize our socialist goals in this way.

Stanislaw Kolasa, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship PZPR Committee:

The years of stagnation in the development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism have vulgarized and made primitive the image of socialism in social awareness.

Socialism was better than capitalism, because it provided work, education, culture, and medical care. It continued to provide all this, but since the value of work was debased because of slack discipline, the cult of expert skills, which the workers class holds in such high esteem, began to disappear. The theoretical indolence of our social sciences has also impaired the awareness of the intelligentsia. As for the political economy of socialism,

for example, let us openly admit to the results of our failure to appreciate the law of value, economic accounting, and the significance of goods-money relations and of market mechanisms.

We should expect that, despite the second stage of the economic reform, these ideas about socialism will operate for some time and will create barriers to efforts to achieve our appointed goals. [passage omitted]

Boleslaw Przywara, scientific worker at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences:

Social sciences have to fulfill considerable tasks. We must evaluate the present state of social knowledge in order to purge it from many dogmas and theses that have been declared sacred, to abandon eclectism and the mania for quotations, and to consolidate Marxist methodology in scientific research. We must create a climate for honest scientific discussions, for polemics, for contrary views, and for friendly criticism that does not indulge in pigeonholing and various epithets. I think that a Marxist and a party member in a clinch with the social sciences has the duty to back the party political line with his achievements and has the right to criticize this line, not only after the fact, when it is obvious that it has failed, but also during its realization. [passage omitted]

Jaroslaw Motyka, first secretary of the Kielce Voivodship PZPR Committee:

The issue of ownership in socialism is one of those changes that give rise to much controversy. It seems to me that this issue does not boil down to the question of how big the state sector and the private sectors are to be in the economy. After all, it is common knowledge that socialized enterprises will not be made private again.

If so, there is no threat to socialism, which as we know is supposed to meet society's increasing needs. Therefore, whatever really helps to meet these needs should be supported, no matter whether it is produced by socialized or private producers. [passage omitted]

If we are for socialized reforms, new solutions, greater initiative and enterprise, self-management, stronger civil rights, and broadly conceived democracy, at the same time we must be against old schemes, bureaucratic foot-dragging, all kinds of formalism, passivity, and a disregard for civil duties.

Messner Addresses Economic Congress 27 Nov

AU011406 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Nov 87, p 4

[Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Zbigniew Messner at a congress of Polish economists in Krakow on 27 Nov]

[Text] Mr Chairman, esteemed gathering.

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and of the Government of the Polish People's Republic I warmly greet the participants of the congress of Polish economists. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, unable—despite his wishes and his personal interest—to take part in the debates because of other duties, has empowered me to convey his best wishes and his greetings to the participants of the congress. [applause]

This congress, called on the centenary of the social movement of Polish economists, is an event of great significance. The representatives of this profession work in practically every area of socioeconomic life. The number of economists in the national economy exceeds 1 million people, of which more than 200,000 have degrees. Polish economic thought is known and respected throughout the world. The Polish Economic Society can take no small credit for this; the society successfully integrates theoreticians of economic thought and the practitioners of economic life. The society's activities are particularly valuable in making society economically aware.

However, the scope of the congress goes much further than its environmental significance. Our country's economy is at the stage of radical transformations. From this arises the general expectation that the congress will not limit itself to summing up the results of theoretical works and will not just describe the main characteristics of the state of the Polish economy. I am sure that its work will form a strong, intellectual support for reformatory actions. The papers prepared for the congress constitute an interesting effort to sum up the achievements of Polish economy. In particular, I share the view embodied in the accurate diagnosis of the reasons for the incorrect interpretation of the categories and the money-commodities ratio. I believe them to be the main source for the dogmatic and conservative bases and the delays in the progress of management efficiency.

The papers also contain an attempt to identify the problems which have not been fully examined or fully solved. There is also an outline of the directions to be taken in research essential for speeding up qualitative and structural changes in the national economy. One must however also openly state that some of the statements contained in congress material are open to discussion or even quite simply untrue. Resistance is aroused by the thesis concerning Poland's place in the world regarding economic efficiency, its capabilities for people's progress and for raising the standard of living; the fact that we have found a way out of the economic crisis and the implementation of the reform's first phase prove, after all, something quite different.

It shows that, alongside known authorities, there are among the authors of papers also young economists, presenting their own, often original thinking. This permits us to take an optimistic view of the future of

economic sciences in Poland. Reforming our socioeconomic life requires the existence of a mature, rich, theoretical back-up. It should at least keep up with economic practice. Meanwhile, practice seems to be outstripping theory on more than one occasion. Problems as important as property relations [stosunki wlasnosciowe] are still waiting for deeper analysis. This includes the concept of the socialist enterprise and the functioning of the socialist market, including the turnover of capital. It has to be admitted that the administration sometimes is not capable of properly formulating the problem it is facing. The opposite is also the case: Science is not always capable of giving a specific answer to clear questions which arise. Coming closer to practice, economic sciences should examine the specific economic reality, follow the real developmental trends. On the basis of interdisciplinary research and knowledge about society, they should suggest the optimal directions and methods of solutions. There is an urgent need for such reports and expert opinions. The government would now like to use them more extensively.

The Economic Reform Affairs Commission and its working groups are tried and tested forms of confrontation of the most up-to-date achievements of science, having the practical requirements. We want to use it better and more effectively to draw up and verify concepts and to assess the possibilities of putting them into practice. We will be listening with equal attention to the voices and views of all scientific milieux and societies and opinion-giving and advisory bodies, of experienced practitioners and well-known theoreticians.

Esteemed colleagues. Our deliberations have come at a time of crucial transformations and decisions. The program of implementation of the second stage of the economic reform, putting in specific terms the strategy outlined at the 10th PZPR Congress, has been drawn up by the government. It arose, however, with the active participation of many people present in this hall. Other scientific and creative milieus also have their share in it as well, as have social organizations. Numerous opinions from citizens, presented in the press and on radio and television, have also been taken into account. The views and postulates of economists, expressed while the document was being drawn up and also during its lively, creative discussion, were of fundamental significance. This is all the more important since the reform is being introduced in difficult conditions, increasing social sensitivity and the scale of risk. We must therefore especially beware of failed experiments; must carefully and thoroughly analyze the proposed solutions; and must utilize all critical opinions.

The awareness of this responsibility must not be allowed to be paralyzing. We cannot give in to doctrinarianism, to allowing ourselves to become set in stereotyped thoughts, to hiding from the risk to which reforming is bound. The program is characterized by a comprehensive attitude to the restructuring of the economic system, in accordance with the expectations and the aspirations of Polish economic thought. This does not mean, of course, that it is a closed collection: one can and must enrich it and develop it as scenarios for implementation arise.

It is in your ranks that I look for the specific driving force of this radical concept for the restructuring of the economy. I have in mind here not just coparticipation in drawing up the program, but active participation in its implementation and also participation in the social control over the introduction of the reform. This appeal I direct from the podium of the congress to all Polish economists: the opinion—which is the motto of Professor Waclaw Wilczynski's paper—that liberalization of economic life and its mechanisms—while intensifying the conditions of management. I consider that to be an idea which integrates economic theory and economic policy. I propose that we adopt it as the common basis of our efforts toward the success of the reform.

May I recall here that the government has presented to the Sejm guidelines of the law on the principles of undertaking economic activity. It has also proposed the removal of a series of regulations which were restricting initiative and enterprise. This resulted in the laws adopted a month ago by the Sejm. These are decisive changes, leading to the organization of economic life on principles which differ from those applied so far. We are moving away from the government controlling economic activity, various subjects, sectors and areas. This must be replaced by widespread enterprise as the moving force in socioeconomic life. The responsibility for liberating enterprise rests mainly with the economists. The practice of economic life shows that where there is a good, enterprising economist, there the efficiency of management is on the increase.

While working out the assumptions of the second phase it was accepted that one of the essential conditions for reaching the goals it envisaged was the change in the functioning of the central administration, and especially those organs within it which have a fundamental influence on economic activity; this change is taking place at present. Work is continuing on the correct setting-up of its internal structures. We are giving up the division of units into branches in favor of a problems-functions system. This principle has already been introduced as far as newly created departments are concerned, and it will gradually be implemented in the remainder. In accordance with my announcement made in the Sejm, at the beginning of next year the government will be working in a new organizational form—adapted to the functions of the tasks which result from the second phase of the reform. The ministries will no longer govern the economy: They are now beginning to guide it with the help of economic instruments. However, these instruments are not independent tools, something which is quite rightly stressed in the congress documents. They must serve a specific economic policy in reaching the goals included in the socioeconomic plans.

From that point of view, the year 1988 can be a crucial year. Experiences to date in implementing the National Socioeconomic Plan show the need for more radical changes in the method of controlling the economy, including the verification of some of the plan's indices and proportions. Acceleration, achievable thanks to the introduction of system solutions, would give such an opportunity. It would at the same time be a practical affirmation of the thesis that improving the tools is not an end in itself, but is to promote a more rapid socioeconomic development.

Will the advantages of the new system solutions appear in 1988? Certainly not all of them. The time elapsing before we get visible and perceptible results from the second stage will depend not just on the rate of decision-making, but also on the determination and consistency of the government, of all political and social forces in putting individual solutions as well as the entire reform concept into practice; on the involvement of citizens in general; on the full implementation of the whole program by all, without exception.

The nature of economic phenomena means that results will appear with some delay. Despite this, the implementation of the proposed solutions should enable a more rapid increase in the national income than is assumed in the socioeconomic plan to be achieved next year. We expect that the limitations planned for next year, and in some areas the liquidation of subsidies, will promote not only the process of putting the price structure in order: It will enable the broader application of cost-accounting. It will be an important element in mobilizing structural transformations, so very necessary to improve effectiveness. The promotion of socialist initiative will be furthered by the changes in the principles of forming means for renumerations in the sphere of material production, including giving up the application of the so-called wage guillotine.

In 1988, we also intend to introduce changes in taxation policy. The main idea is to lower the current 60 percentage rate of tax on revenue, with a simultaneous curtailment of concessions. This will enable the improvement of the economic state of enterprises which are operating well. It will increase their developmental possibilities. The good cannot lose. The choice of the variant of prices-and-incomes policy can also enable the return to applying the minimal legal rate of tax on turnover. Strengthening the operation of regulatory instruments will be promoted by the revision of the investment program. As experience teaches, however, this is no easy task. This is shown by the fact that repeated invitations to present social proposals on this matter did not meet with any concrete response.

Esteemed gathering. In the Sunday referendum, the Polish nation, in an act of direct democracy, will make the choice of the rate and range of restructuring of socioeconomic life. It will be one of the most important decisions, with historic significance and far-reaching consequences. Each of us will have to answer two questions. The essence of the choice boils down, however, to resolving one dilemma: To take the road of corrections to the old system of operation, or to undertake the work of radical transformations? In recent years, no small amount has been done, but the results achieved cannot satisfy us. Our experiences prove, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that half-measures carry with them the risk of marking time in one spot, with the likelihood of reaching a standstill, or even regression. The will for restructuring, for throwing away dogmatic models and anachronistic styles of management are being declared by all. Today we are more ready than ever—both as a society and as a state—for effective actions, based on a realistic evaluation of possible gains and losses. This is being confirmed by the discussion going on before the referendum among the people. Radical changes are also being favored by outside conditions—among them the reforms being carried out in other socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union.

In the case of certain solutions, we are the first to introduce them. They go to make up the original achievement of Polish economic thought and practice. It is with satisfaction that we can state that they arouse interest and responses in other socialist countries. This creates favorable conditions for a mutual and beneficial exchange of experiences; it serves the socialist integration of economies.

So what are the motives of those who are against decisive action? They stem from distrust, from a lack of belief in the success of changes on such a broad scale, from the conviction that if things remain as they are there will be no risk involved; that even though the effects will be lesser it will all be safer; that bolder actions carry with them a greater danger of defeat. In reality, without an acceleration of qualitative changes, the risk of a fall in living standards will not be smaller, it will be greater. Without them the economy would develop in a markedly slower way, and therefore with it the material base of social life. The effectiveness of the influence of economic mechanisms would decrease.

Without taking risks, without determination and disciplined actions, it would even be difficult not just to achieve success but even to be able to satisfy the basic needs and aspirations of society. For a slower tempo must, in the final analysis, bring with it negative consequences: with the maintainance of outdated production, low quality, with rationing—so shameful for modern societies—it must also mean that there will be a decrease in the chances for development, especially for the younger generation.

Among the solutions put forward by the government, the greatest emotions are aroused by the prices-and-incomes policy. In the implementation program of the reform's second phase this constitutes an important and necessary element, but not a fundamental one. The essence of the

changes and the guarantee of their success is the simultaneous and swift introduction of the whole set of proposed solutions. The restructuring of prices and incomes is part of this. The greatest stress is, however, laid on a fundamental change in economic mechanisms and devices, on an increase of supply, on creating lasting bases for a balanced development, and one which would be swifter than to date.

The changes are not limited to the economy. They are accompanied by fundamental revaluations in sociopolitical life, the development of worker's, cooperative, and regional self-government, the restructuring of institutions of public life, state structure and administrative organs. This comprehensive approach makes the consistent initiation of the whole program, including the prices-and-incomes policy that is proposed in it, the condition, and simultaneously the guarantee, of the generally anticipated results.

I would like here again, and with particular stress, to emphasize that the prices-and-incomes proposals which are the source of understandable fears as to the standard and quality of life, are not aimed at reducing people's real incomes and financial means. In the past, prices were raised but the mechanisms which caused disequilibrium were left unchanged. This time the mechanisms are being changed. It is not a question, therefore, of draining the citizen's pocket. The effects of price rises will be leveled out by direct compensation, by the revalorization and valorization of welfare benefits, and also by an increase in wages, differentiated relative to the growth in individual productivity and the economic situation of an enterprise. All forms of peoples' savings deposits will also be protected.

If the idea of a radical acceleration gains acceptance, the government will work for a rigorous adherence to the decisions and rules contained in it with total consistency. We are faced with an unrepeatable chance to improve our joint fate. We are putting forward economic and social solutions which we consider to be pertinent and innovative, in line with the expectations of increasingly wider groups. The joint action of all groups of society are necessary in realizing the transformations. Indifference would lead us to an unavoidable defeat. Creative participation is necessary, therefore, utilizing democratic state institutions, manifesting itself in common aims and the diversity of forms of their attainment.

The day before yesterday, during the first part of the sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the directions of the further intensification of socialist democracy, the creation of political conditions for its development, the widening of the social basis of forces involved in the transformation were formulated. It was once again confirmed that social, political and economic transformations form an inseparable entity. Many problems were presented in a fundamentally new manner, and at the same time, total unanimity with the basic ideological principles of socialism was maintained. The contents contained in the documents of that PZPR Central Committee Plenum create a basis for undertaking bold decisions, they lead to better and more efficient work for the development of our homeland.

Esteemed gathering. I would like in conclusion to wish the congress participants fruitful deliberations. I also wish the formulation of resolutions that create a permanent basis for your work, which give a new impetus for economic sciences, and will also form a valuable contribution of Polish economists, theoreticians and practicians in the work of the development of Peoples' Poland. I would like to assure you that the government will consider all the conclusions and postulates resulting from the proceedings of this congress.

Please allow me to make one more personal reflection at the beginning of the deliberations of the congress. There has never been a time in the history of the Polish People's Republic when economists had so many opportunities to influence the authorities and central authorities. Thank you for your attention.

Fliers Urge Protest Against Ceausescu

AU071131 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 5-6 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—Fliers are calling on the Romanian population to protest against the Ceausescu regime with light signals. Two weeks after the riots in Brasov, bilingual (in Romanian and Hungarian) fliers have appeared, calling on the population to switch off the lights in their houses for at least 3 minutes at 2200 every evening.

According to well-informed sources, "hundreds if not thousands" of fliers are circulating in Hungary. In particular, Budapest residents are called on to recommend this form of protest to relatives, friends, and acquaintances in Romania. The fliers have probably come from Romanian visitors to Budapest; this is suggested by the fact that the Romanian text is correct, while the Hungarian text contains grammatical errors.

Article Details Cadre Policy, Management Ethics

AU011658 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Nov 87 pp 1, 2

[Ion Pavelescu article: "The Ethics of Work, the Ethics of Responsibility—Defining Properties in the Activity of Managerial Cadres"]

[Text] In its history so rich in events of overwhelming beauty, in the struggle to overthrow the old social system requiring great sacrifice, self-denial, and devotion, and in the complex process of the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society that confronted and continues to confront us with problems requiring great competence and capability for adapting to the sinuous and often contradictory evolution of phenomena, our party raised and formed a great number of valuable cadres from among its ranks, people who stand out through their patriotic devotion and revolutionary commitment, and through thorough training, in keeping with requirements. These requirements are constantly increased by the scientific and technological revolution we witness and by our bold programs for our unflinching development on the road to socialism and communism.

The greatest example for all of us is the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who, through his bold and prospective thinking, through his uncompromising devotion to the party, the devotion with which he strives to solve the multiple questions of developing and modernizing the national economy and of improving socioeconomic activity, and through the tremendous energy with which he strives to accelerate our country's progress in general, he contributes decisively to the formulation and implementation of the dynamic policy of great openness, which today is being associated with the name of the party and with the name of Romania. This policy, through its most revealing aspects, demonstrates the creative force of a free nation that is master of its destiny and capable of asserting itself as a uniform whole. This is a pronounced characteristic in today's world.

Cadres—and this must be said—who are aware of their great mission, represent an inestimable asset to our society since they are an unshakable guarantee for the implementation of our long- and short-term targets.

However, facts make us reveal the truth that not all people invested with certain responsibilities in one area or another are up to their status of party militants, that not all people have those political, moral, and general human traits which, as a whole and through confrontation with life, can make up the prototype of an activist in whom we believe and whom we promote. In this vein, the recent meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee discussed the serious violations committed by the first secretary and other members of the Dolj County RCP Committee Bureau and by some cadres with responsible party-state positions. The violations committed were harshly criticized and firm measures were taken against the offenders. In this connection, the high forum adopted a resolution that will be discussed within all party bodies and organizations.

The document to which we refer, its ideas and principles, the conclusions it draws, and the practical consequences it bears in mind—by moving from one unpleasant and unhappy case—suggest a number of considerations of a more general nature.

What has to be stressed from the very beginning is the role our party assumes in leading the society. In formulating the strategy and tactics of turning Romania into an increasingly prosperous state capable of asserting its national independence and sovereignty, our party—within the framework of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's sociopolitical thinking, a realistic thinking, fully validated by life and by the social-historic practice—is fully involved in all activity whose aim it is to formulate and implement decisions. However, the concept at the basis of this involvement, which makes the party a genuinely vital center of the whole nation, is achieved with the people and through the people. This is why Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu repeatedly referred to the qualities that must characterize those assigned to responsible positions, to their behavior and conduct, and to their political and moral attitude. We may extend this notion by saying that this involves not only party activists, but also cadres holding highly responsible positions in the state apparatus and in the relevant organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

To be a communist, a revolutionary, and to perform responsible work in the state apparatus, and in the mass and civic organizations, does not mean to enjoy advantages or privileges, but to have additional obligations and duties that no one should shun. It has been noted

several times that despite the decisions, which were made in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress on cadres rotation, and despite the duties devolving on them and aimed at maintaining close links with the masses, including through the important institution that has been created, namely the "rostrum of democracy," some activists consider themselves as irreplaceable. They are arrogant, obtuse to the justified requests of the working people, and distort the country's regulations and laws, and apply them according to their own desire.

These circumstances, as well as others of the same nature, make us stress what we usually mean by the establishment of a healthy working atmosphere at all levels of the party and state apparatus. Such an atmosphere has nothing in common with familiarism and with tolerance, which often degenerate into a kind of tacit complicity, and nothing in common with hushing up failings and deficiencies, and with veiling or obscuring the truth.

All those who were granted the trust of the people must always be guided by principles, a party-minded spirit, creative noncomplacency, a critical and self-critical spirit, and by work which does not expect praise or emulation. The entire educational and instructional work and all the means we have to ensure the people's development in the spirit of the great values which we believe should be wisely used. This is in order to cultivate and instill everywhere a state of social modesty, the only one capable of making every activist faithful to the call of his land, that is, to become a model for all those people whom he is leading.

The climate we create in our daily activity leaves its mark on our working style. There is a direct link between these two notions, we could even say that there is a dialectical interdependence between them. A healthy working climate will certainly generate an efficient working style and the worsening of the working atmosphere will inevitably lead to unsuitable forms of action and working methods. In this respect, we believe that it is absolutely necessary to note that the working style—as expressed by our party and by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—should acquire, above all, a dynamic and revolutionary character. To work with the people and for the people, is today, more than ever, a norm, which nobody has the right to violate. This means that, we have to get rid—the sooner the better—of the piles of papers that can jeopardize even the best decisions and can cover with the dust of bureaucracy even the most noble intentions. At the same time, this means that we should eliminate the idle talk about commitments and always leave room in the first place for deeds and work, which are free of any rhetorical, artificial means. A correct working style requires that the focus of political work be transferred inside the socio-economic units. The activists, regardless of the branch in which they carry out their activity, should constantly be among people, should be aware of the heartbeat of masses, and should work together with them to fulfill the great tasks set by the party. To practice such a working style and to invest it with the qualities of the approved norms of conduct means to be aware of the truth and correctly inform the superior hierarchical bodies, so that all the decisions and measures that will be adopted are based on realities.

The working style is not a notion in itself, it is part of a broader and more comprehensive notion—the living style. The cadres who hold responsible jobs cannot behave in two different ways—to behave one way at their places of work and in another way at home, in their private, family circles. The two sides of their lives supplement and complete one another and make up a uniform whole. Therefore, those who show a lack of responsibility, recklessness, and behavior that is difficult, sometimes even inconceivable, to understand do not deserve any understanding. Examining things from this angle, we are duty-bound to take firm steps against those who disregard and neglect their families and against those who prove to be completely incompetent in educating their own children. The cadres who hold responsible jobs and party and state activists should be integral people and examples worth following in every respect. They should be competent in their activity, modest in everyday life, and exemplary working comrades, never neglecting their matrimonial and parental duties.

Discussing all these problems within the party organizations and within the extraordinary meetings of the county party committees, in our view, is a sign of strength and confidence in the party's power, its indestructible unity, and in its capability to assume and carry out the great tasks the nation and history have bestowed upon it, to lead the work of building socialism and communism on Romanian soil on to victory.

The party has great tasks to fulfill. The greatness and significance of these tasks were brilliantly reflected in the 13th RCP Congress documents and in the speeches made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great strategist of building a superior material and cultural civilization on the soil of our ancient land. There has never been such a force in the history of our homeland, with such great feelings of responsibility for the destinies of the people from the ranks of which it emerged and whom it represents, as the embodiment of its most noble and greatest achievements. That is why, we cannot be indifferent to the behavior, and the working and living style of those whom we entrusted with the mission to work in the leadership of our party and state. Following the outstanding model of patriotic and revolutionary spirit, self-denial, abnegation, and tremendous energy and prospective thinking offered by the life and activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, all those who hold a job in the leadership of the party bodies, and central and local bodies of the state power and state administration or at the helm of the mass and civic organizations, are duty-bound to acquire and permanently develop those features which truly characterize communists, revolutionaries, the members of the society in which we are living

and working. There is not the slightest doubt that the concern with acquiring those definite qualities will be a permanent objective in the work and life of all of us.

SCINTEIA Cited on Role of National Plan

AU081546 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1513 GMT
8 Dec 87

["Societal Management Based on Single National Plan"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/12/1987—The process of improving the planned management of the Romanian national economy, conceived based on the compatibility of the action of the law of proportionate planned development with the law of value, of the plan with the market, upon the criteria of socio-economic, technical-scientific and ecologic rationality expressed by the exigencies of the fundamental economic law of motion of the socialist system, inaugurated a new stage after the 9th Congress and the 1967 Conference of the RCP, stresses daily SCINTEIA in an article devoted to the scientific, democratic societal management based on the single national plan.

The growing role of the single national plan, the article shows, is a requirement of high-rate and harmonious development of the productive forces, the improvement of the social and production relations, of the mechanism of operation of the national economy, the growing efficiency of utilization of society's resources. For the application of democratic centralism and worker self-management to the planning of Romania's development to be in harmony with the requisites of a better capitalization of society's material and human potential, the RCP ensured conditions for the whole planning activity to proceed within a broadly democratic framework, from bottom to top, starting from the economic-social and territorial-administrative units. Likewise, for the whole activity of substantiation of the plan proposals to be in harmony with the general interests of socio-economic development, a system was conceived, of guiding levels and economic and financial normatives for all echelons of organizational structure of economy that should give direction to the elaboration of the single national plan in a unitary conception.

Life demonstrates, the article stresses, that there is dialectical unity between the growing role of the single national plan and the deepening of the socialist economic democracy in planning. The steps taken in Romania, both in point of unitary management of the whole socio-economic development and for the deepening and expansion of economic democracy in planning, must be viewed as an expression of the consideration of the action of objective economic laws of socialism in keeping with Romania's concrete historical conditions. That is why, the theories regarding the so-called market socialism, the development of private property and the assertion of competition, do not take account even of what the state monopolist capitalism tries to achieve through the passage from the spontaneous market mechanism to measures of anticipation and anticipated adjustment of production. To give up even part of this great advantage entailed by the socialist society—namely to be able to develop on a planned basis, would mean in fact to close the eyes before present-day world realities, not to recognize the force of this objective necessity that becomes ever stronger with every passing day, to cause dramatic disproportions and disbalances in the whole socio-economic development, affecting the country's independence and sovereignty, the very construction of the new social system.

That is why, the article concludes, the unitary management, based on the socio-economic development plan cannot be given up; moreover, in step with the amplification and diversification of the activities in society, with the restrictions in securing the raw materials and energy base growing more complicated, the need becomes ever more obvious, to consolidate the role of unitary management based on plan.

Bucharest Town Development Work Reported

AU071316 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1213 GMT
7 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 7/12/1987—The year 1987 is an important stage in the process of modernizing and developing the Romanian capital city. More than 30,000 apartments will be turned available for the Bucharesters this year. The materialization of the housing programme for the 1986-1990 interval is likely to solve, by and large, the housing issue in the country's largest city.

Operations continue at a sustained rate at the new political and administrative centre and for the development of the Dimbovita River in order to give its water a clean look. The subway lines, another reference project of the Romanian builders, are 8.5 km longer with the addition of the section linking midtown Piata Unirii to Pipera industrial zone, late in October. At the same time several underpasses, among them the Victoria, Lujerului, Piata Unirii, and an overpass, Baneasa, have been opened for traffic.

Large complex marketplaces are in an advanced stage of construction, which will add to the town's current 1.1 million sq.m. worth of shopping floor. So, a new marketplace covering approximately 18,000 sq.m. is to help better supplying the population in Baneasa, one of the youngest and most modern residential areas in Bucharest. It consists of several buildings which are to accommodate large food manufacturers, a general store and various other shops. Similar places are under construction in the Floreasca and Cotroceni zones, conceived as powerful centres bringing together commercial units of various prophiles.

Over the 1986-1990 interval town planners want to build almost 100,000 apartments, 16 schools with 256 classrooms, space for higher education in excess of 33,000 sq.m., several cinema halls, houses of culture and clubs, over 130,000 sq.m. of shopping floor, as well as to modernize roads, expand the subway, etc.

Ceausescu Sends Congratulations to JCP Leader

AU081730 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 87 p 6

[Congratulatory message from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania to Kenji Miyamoto, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, on his reelection to the office]

[Text] To Comrade Kenji Miyamoto, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan [JCP]:

On the occasion of your reelection to the office of chairman of the JCP Central Committee, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you warm greetings and best wishes for success in the activity of high responsibility entrusted to you by the party.

I express my belief that the favorable relations established between the RCP and the JCP will continue to develop in the interest of the two parties and for the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

Ceausescu Sends Message to Lao Leaders

AU081732 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 87 p 5

["On the National Day of the Lao People's Democratic Republic," cable from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania to Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and to Phoumi Vongvicit, acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and to Comrade Phoumi Vonvicit, acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Vientiane,

On the 12th anniversary of the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on behalf of the RCP, the State Council, the Romanian people, and on my own behalf, I convey warm greetings and best wishes to you, to the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], and to the Lao people.

The proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, that took place 12 years ago, marked a decisive turning point in the destinies of the Lao people and opened up the path toward fulfilling their aspirations for freedom and progress.

The Romanian people sincerely rejoice in the achievements of the friendly Lao people in building a new society, under the leadership of the LPRP, and we wish them new and ever greater successes in implementing the Fourth LPRP Congress decisions.

I express my belief that, through joint efforts, the relations of the Romanian-Lao friendship and cooperation will develop in the future, too, for the benefit of the Romanian and the Lao people and in the interest of the cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

Presidency Greets Gorbachev, Reagan on Treaty
LD082230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2034 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Washington, Moscow, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has sent cordial congratulations to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan on the signing of the treaty on eliminating all Soviet and U.S. medium- and short-range missiles and their warheads. The Presidency expresses the belief that the treaty will mark the beginning of a new period of negotiations about the most important problems of the present-day world.

This is stressed in a message sent by Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The message for the CPSU general secretary and the U.S. President was delivered this evening by Yugoslav ambassadors in Washington and Moscow, Zivorad Kovacvic and Milan Veres respectively.

"We highly appreciate the fact that following prolonged and complex negotiations and personal efforts on your part this exceptionally important act provides for a decision on the measures to destroy an entire category of nuclear weapons. This is the best way of confirming that disarmament and better international relations in a more secure world are not only necessary but also possible. We are convinced that this agreement, a historic one as regards its significance and prospects, will signify the beginning of a new period of negotiations about the most important problems confronting the modern world, including the problem of development which in addition to disarmament is of prime importance.

The fulfillment of these goals calls for the involvement and contribution of all countries. Yugoslavia, as a member of the United Nations and of the Nonaligned Movement will endeavor, within the framework of global processes to achieve a more stable peace, disarmament, equal cooperation and development and to take a most active part and make as great a contribution as possible, the SFRY Presidency says in its message to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

USSR Ambassador Maltsev Visits Vojvodina
LD081928 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Novi Sad, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Djordje Radosavljevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina, today received Viktor Maltsev, the USSR ambassador in Yugoslavia, who is paying his first official visit to Vojvodina. The visit is planned to last 2 days.

In the course of a lengthy and friendly conversation, the two sides placed stress on friendly relations and diversified cooperation in all spheres between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, to which the Vojvodina SAP also contributed. Both sides expressed a desire to see the numerous existing potentials for further expanding bilateral cooperation fully exploited.

The same view was reiterated in the talks Ambassador Maltsev had with Dobrivoje Radic, presient of the Assembly of the Vojvodina SAP, who informed the ambassador about the main characteristics of current social trends in the Vojvodina SAP.

Ambassador Maltsev also was received by Jon Srbovan, president of the Executive Council of the Vojvodina SAP. On this occasion, reference was made to the situation in and problems of the economic cooperation that Vojvodina realizes within the framework of overall cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR.

Mikulic Returns From Visit to GDR 8 Dec
LD082341 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic returned from Berlin this evening at the end of a 2-day official visit to the GDR.

In Berlin, Mikulic held talks with his host, Premier Willi Stoph, and in the course of today he had a meeting with Erich Honecker, SED secretary general and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

In all these meetings, Yugoslavia and the GDR reiterated their interest in further advancing good bilateral relations.

At Belgrade Airport Branko Mikulic was welcomed by FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric; FEC General Secretary Zorin Miskovic; Trajko Trajkovski, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and Gunther Berg, charge d'affairs of the GDR Embassy in Yugoslavia.

Central Committee Criticizes Hodza
LD082247 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1920 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—Former vice-president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and one of the country's top-ranking officials Fadilj Hodza has no place in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the LCY Central Committee assessed today.

The final decision on Hodza's expulsion from the LCY will be taken shortly by his party organization in Kosovo Province's capital of Pristina.

With just two votes against, the Central Committee concluded that Hodza, Kosovo's former top official, bears responsibility for the situation in the province, which has autonomy within the Yugoslav republic of Serbia.

A Central Committee commission formed last June established that Fadilj Hodza, bears the greatest responsibility for the policy which led to the escalation of ethnic Albanian chauvinism, separatism and open counter-revolutionary outbursts in 1968 and 1981. Instead of struggling for true national equality, he conducted a policy of Albanization of Kosovo, national homogenization and the total isolation of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia.

Hodza and Kosovo's former leadership worked for a long time towards Kosovo's gaining state attributes and becoming a separate republic in Yugoslavia. At the same time, the link with the home republic of Serbia and Yugoslav bodies was neglected. A direct link between Kosovo and Aolbania was forced, whereby greater-Albanian propaganda was freely spread, the Central Committee commission said in its report.

Hodza adopted an opportunistic and unprincipled attitude to the broad process of the Albanization of Kosovo in all spheres of social life—the use of language and script, historiography, culture and education, information, the report said.

This encouraged and opened up the process in which basic human and national rights of members of other nations and nationalities were grossly violated. Open pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins was tolerated, which, along with gross violations of the Constitution and law, led to a long-standing process of Serbs and Montenegrins moving out from Kosovo.

In conducting such a policy, Kosovo's former leadership used all methods, deformations and major excesses were kept quiet. Even the country's top leadership was incorrectly informed about the events in the province, the party commission's report said.

Federal Chamber Session Slated for 16-17 Dec

LD081808 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Omer Kurpejovic, president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, has convened a session of the chamber for 16-17 December.

At its December session, the Federal Chamber is expected to adopt a Yugoslav program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and for organizing the return of those who wish to live and work in the province. Changes to the Law on Associated Labor also are to be endorsed.

The Federal Chamber also will consider the draft of next year's resolution and submit its opinions on it to the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces. The delegates also will give their views of next year's Federal Budget. The resolution, the budget, other planning and financial documents for next year, as well as changes to the foreign exchange laws should be adopted at a session of the Chamber of the Republic and provinces convened for 17 December by Chamber President Drasko Popovic.

'Hostile Incidents' in Kosovo During Holidays

AU041231 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Assessing the political security situation, the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Prizren noted that despite increased vigilance, hostile incidents by Albanian nationalists and separatists occurred in the Prizren commune during the November holidays. TANJUG reports that during the holidays, hostile pamphlets were distributed in the Zur local community near Prizren, where hostile activities had been pronounced. Several flags disappeared in Prizren.

Ckrebic Discusses Intervention Measures

LD071614 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0524 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—During this year, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has attentively monitored the events in the economic sphere, registering increasingly unfavorable overall developments with every passing month. It has become quite clear that the measures and social actions that have been undertaken have failed to produce the expected results and that inflation, as an overall expression of our unfavorable situation, has rapidly and irrevocably been moving toward a three-digit figure, becoming not only an exceptionally difficult economic problem, but also a political problem for our society as well. This was stressed by Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his introductory report at the session today of the LCY Central Committee that is discussing the ideopolitical questions of economic and development policy for 1988.

It seems that a considerable time was required to recognize the nature and destructive effect of inflation in its broader outline, recalled Ckrebic, who then went on to stress that the LCY Central Committee presidium is in a very delicate situation. What happened was that it was constantly coming face-to-face with the expectation that the measures taken last year and this year will cause a turnabout, including also a drop in inflation, while the situation kept on getting worse and the crisis became deeper. This is why the LCY Central Committee Presidium, proceeding precisely from the stands of the 13th LCY Congress on priority involvement to bring down inflation as its most urgent task, resolutely asked the FEC in mid-1987 to issue a comprehensive program of measures to bring down inflation. We believed, added Ckrebic, that it was high time for a fast, resolute, and comprehensive reaction and that any delay would confront us with even greater difficulties.

In the meantime the questions of our country's external liquidity and of internal debts grew worse. For the first time, we were confronted by our inability to meet foreign commitments that had fallen due, coupled with a considerable stagnation in importing the reproduction material, as well as stagnation in production, in exports, in modernization and in keeping abreast of technological progress, Ckrebic recalled. This is why we had to aim for preparing proposals for a more decisive solution to the way we were servicing our foreign debts—in keeping with the need to ease the burden of the economy and to create even minimal conditions for structural adaptation to the demands of technological progress.

In addition to a rather hesitant approach to the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization it gradually became apparant that within the framework of the changes in the political system, the creation of space for changes in the economic system also had to be tackled simultaneously on the basis of constitutional changes. This is necessary to facilitate market and economic conduct, coupled with more efficient planning. Thus, stressed Ckrebic, more complete and firmer conditions for development, and also for extricating us from the crisis, will be created in our economic system.

Having mentioned that the LCY Central Committee Presidium could rightly be criticized for not displaying even greater resolve and, by relying on the stands of the 13th LCY Congress, for demanding an Anti-Inflation Program be produced earlier, Ckrebic recalled that the LCY Central Committee Presidium had discussed this program and the proposed intervention measures, making many observations and suggestions. In addition, it issued warnings and demanded that the orientations of the 13th LCY Congress and inherent in the long-term stabilization program be fully complied with. He added that the FEC, as the constitutional proposer and protagonist of these programs, was open to and cooperated with suggestions, observations, and warnings. I am firmly convinced, Ckrebic said, that if more time was available, these programs would have been adopted, maybe even without the outvoting in the SFRY Assembly. This is because that would have made it possible for the delegate system to overcome the difference that had been manifested in a way that is unique to it.

Referring to the way these programs were adopted in the Yugoslav Assembly, Ckrebic stressed that among the well-intentioned the method causes dilemmas and speculations with others. He believes that, in the final analysis, these are not always the issues of great ideopolitical weight but differences in interests and in the approaches to the solution of individual financial problems and the need to eliminate significant disproportions in primary and secondary distribution. This is why it is a very good thing that these differences are being resolved in the democratic institutions of our delegate system. The fact that some solutions were not accepted during the decisionmaking stage is an expression of the ability of the delegate system to reflect authentic interests. It is obvious that what has been adopted must be implemented.

We must not only get used to building unity, Ckrebic stressed. We must also become its subject, accepting, however, some differences and, of course, working in a full democratic atmosphere and necessarily respecting other people's views. I am convinced, he added, that as a League of Communists we must go on securing maximum democracy, and the results that we will attain are much more significant than the excessively rapid and even unnecessary (especially in some cases) hankering for unity with the aid of party discipline. Implementing in practice maximum responsibility and political will, we should assert the practice that good concepts and good programs will not fail merely because they do not suit somebody's book and because they do not fully satisfy someone's narrow interests.

Ckrebic then examined the recently adopted intervention measures, saying that they should be an efficient start to curbing the higher rate of inflation and the recovery of our economy, that is, the beginning of the way out of the economic crisis. In his words, this start appeared in the shape of the heavy price we had to pay. Among other things, in the period of 3 weeks the dinar was devalued by more than 40 percent, and the average earning value was immediately reduced by about 20 percent. This very costly price should not be in vain. This is the basic dilemma of our economic policy next year and of the changes pertaining to our economic system due to follow shortly, and also the dilemma of political responsibility for the feasibility and efficiency of all these measures, Ckrebic stressed.

He stressed, in particular, that the LCY cannot waive its responsibility for the future of intervention measures. That is why it has to establish a clear ideological and political direction of further activity and insist on its implementation. Also, the whole burden of the beginning effect of high inflation should not be allowed to fall on the standard of living, especially that of the working class.

Measures must be taken as a matter of urgency, which, in a financially possible and socially satisfactory way, will mitigate the fall in the standard of living of all categories of workers. The workers cannot carry this burden. This is because, unless there is a tolerable socioeconomic situation, one cannot move from the stage of intervention measures to the stage of effectively bringing down inflation and bringing about economic recovery.

Dwelling on the economic policy tasks next year, which will be neither simple nor easy, Ckrebic said that the most important thing is to ensure the efficiency of all intervention measures, and, during the time of their application, to carry out all the changes that will prevent

a renewal of the inflationary pressure after the withdrawal of these measures. This is why economic policy in a year's time cannot be routine. In this context, in Ckrebic's view, the most dangerous thing is the inertia of the work done so far, and especially that performed by state and other organs. This work done so far is characterized by a feeling of complacency about the formulation of proposals for a way out of the crisis, also including inadequate openness to a broader and more organized cooperation with the people in science and practical knowledge and understanding. The state must rid itself of its tutelage over the economy at all levels and carry out its economic functions efficiently, particularly those which are of a regulative and encouraging nature.

The respite made possible by the intervention measures must be used efficiently for the complete operationalization of the long-term stabilization program with the result that the key points of the planned market economy, such as money and credits, the independence of the self-management subject, price formation according to market conditions, an efficient market, economically regular division of income, and other things, must be given priority. The efforts to bring about deeper changes and to abandon a consensus economy and economic voluntarism must be understood in this context, said Ckrebic. If the appropriate changes, in the sense that market economy and the position of the producers will be strengthened, are not carried out, the period of emergency measures, in Ckrebic's view, would be irrevocably lost and one does not have to imagine the economic, political, and other consequences of such a course of events. We would go back into the grip of a higher rate of inflation, and we would lose every prospect of overcoming the economic crisis. Extending this period would also have deep-seated consequences. This is why the ideopolitical unity of the LCY is required to accept the challenge which, objectively speaking, has been imposed on us, because any attempt to put partial interests above efficient solutions as a way out of the economic crisis would put a brake on our ability to change the acute situation of the present day, Ckrebic warned.

Ckrebic mentioned all the efforts being channelled into respect for economic laws and free-market activity under conditions of socialist self-management. He remarked that we are not clear enough, and therefore not united enough, in the implementation of this. Economic law will genuinely be respected if we change to a comprehensive and consistent formation of a planned market economy of socialist self-management in which money will be represented by a stable domestic currency. The self-management economic subject will be legally and economically independent and will be responsible for his economic decisions, while the market and the plan will be efficient. In this sense, according to Ckrebic, the Anti-Inflation Program was not quite complete, and similar criticism can be addressed also the the draft resolution on the country's development next year.

Ckrebic believes that it is very important to tackle the construction of the mechanicm that will make it possible for us to get out of the deficit distribution of income because a society that spends more than it produces cannot progress. The creation of a deficit and of financially dubious accounts must be ended first and only then can financial consolidation and the application of bankruptcy proceedings be tackled. The reconstruction of the monetary and financial system, in the sense of introducing "hard" currency is not simple and is independent of the elimination of the deficit distribution of income. Everything must be done in parallel and in a consistent way, and these issues cannot be left for the period after the intervention.

Having pointed out the need to get out of the declarative market orientation, Ckrebic recalled that the essential character of the market in our country was set out in the long-term stabilization program, and the further ideopolitical features of this orientation were provided by the 13th LCY Congress. We are talking about a market that presupposes social guidance, which limits uncontrollable market activity and that can ensure the development of socialist self-management. The planned guidance of free-market activity, Ckrebic mentioned, must proceed from specific material relations in the economy, realistic possibilities of evening out market supply and demand and the degree of their development. Such active market activity implies market sanctions which, given the higher rate of inflation, have been completely lost. Market activity must be based on competitiveness and not on the easy way of increasing the prices as has been the case so far.

Market activity and respect for economic laws can be spoken of when economic subjects address themselves to thier own competitiveness; therefore, opportunities have to be established so that commodity manufacturers have full independence and responsibility for adopting business decisions. The economic system must place them in a position of economic responsibility and must protect their independence instead of hectoring, lecturing, and instructing them in how they should work. Lecturing does not help the incapable and hampers the capable, Ckrebic stressed.

Speaking of the need for consolidating financial discipline, Dusan Ckrebic drew attention to a fundamental principle of our monetary system that has been forgotten. Its essence is that whoever fails to pay off debts is taking possession of property that does not belong to him and is threatening self-management. For this reason, the market behavior of economic subjects can be reaffirmed only by introducing stable domestic currency, economically sound crediting and financial discipline, which is not sufficiently regulated by the draft resolution for 1988.

The draft development document for next year, Ckrebic considers, assumes a very modest growth in economic activity. This growth does not ensure that a more serious

adaptation of our economy will be able to predict a way out of the crisis as early as next year. [sentence as received] The problem, however, is not in cautiousness, he added, but in the consideration that economic growth can be achieved in the present way. We urgently need a more significant growth in production, exports, and income on a more stable basis. This is because without that the crisis cannot be overcome. Next year, a fundamental question of economic policy will be in the balancing of the balance of payments, Ckrebic stressed. He noted that if this problem were to remain open we could not count on the necessary increase in production and exports. Serious difficulties would also arise in the economic sphere and in supplying the economy and citizens. For this reason, we must secure a tolerable framework of the balance of payments, in keeping with the platform that the FEC prepared for talks and negotiations with foreign creditors.

Ckrebic said that problems of acquiring and distributing income in next year's economic policy warrant special elaboration and explanation. He also recalled the stand of the 13th LCY Congress, which noted that "the terms on which personal incomes are earned must be established. The basis here must be the results of labor at the workplace and the results of managing an organization of associated labor. This is true if the criterion for the results of management is related to accumulation and the funds involved in the management of a given organization," adding that this was only partly realized. One of the key tasks is also realizing the stands of the 24th LCY Central Committee session that marked no significant progress, though working people throughout the country universally adopted them and demanded their consistent implementation. Problems, Ckrebic noted, are mainly manifested in the different interpretation of these stands and the orientations of the 13th LCY Congress in this field and in the slow process of establishing and elaborating suitable solutions for the realization of changes in this area. Some progress was made by passing social contracts on income and self-managing documents of organizations of associated labor, but we still have not settled all the questions concerning the realization of a dual personal income, as well as the other orientations submitted by the 24th LCY Central Committee session. Work has been organized within the framework of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on clearing up controversial questions.

Within the context of the distribution of income and social policy, Ckrebic pointed out some public opinion treats pensioners and pensions almost as a burden on our economy. Let us leave aside the nonscientific approach and the economic illogicality of such opinions, because they earned their pensions during their working life, he said. This is an uncivilized attitude that insults human dignity. At times difficult for all of us, let us therefore respect people who patiently endure the crisis and who are our faithful allies in the struggle for economic and political stabilization, Ckrebic stressed.

So far little has been done to the implement the LC's essential programs in social policy. In addition, social problems have become exacerbated to such a degree that they have become one of the most topical political problems. Ckrebic stressed that this is because the basic demands have not been realized. These demands on economic and social policies should, to a greater degree, be integrated and linked to the development policy, which is an essential prerequisite for a more successful resolution of both economic and social problems. We must take into consideration that no economic policy, including that of stabilization, can be realized if the social position and security of workers are not taken into account. This does not open up prospects for consolidating their position and improving their working and living conditions. He noted that our system of social protection was established exclusively for regular situations. The continual announcement of new difficulties, the bankruptcy of the collectives that are not in the position to endure economic criteria, is not a great help and does not make easier the situation that is already fraught with the tension and collective and personal dissatisfaction of the working people.

Bearing in mind the work stoppages that have been particularly numerous this year, Ckrebic said that we do not have a developed and efficient system of reacting in emergency situations. This is especially true in situations where the dissatisfaction is with management, the work of management structures, financial reorganization, and bankruptcy. In particular, we cannot accept the fact that numerous difficulties, as well as the justified demands of workers, take a long time to resolve. During work stoppages, these demands are resolved more quickly and efficiently. In Ckrebic's opinion, this indicates that there is not enough timely sensibility for the essential problems of the working people. In addition, activity must, therefore, be directed toward a speedier, more resolute, and purposeful resolving of problems at the time that they arise and not when they accumulate. This is the right content of the activity of the LC organizations, trade unions, and young people, as well as the state and its organs.

Ckrebic stressed in particular that the LC should deal more and in more depth with the problem of work stoppages. Here, he said, there has been much thought about whether they should be legalized or not, whether in our country the right to strike can exist, whether this is a strike or a work stoppage, what the attitude of the trade unions should be and what, in these circumstances, members and organs of the LC should do? Practice, Ckrebic added, is different precisely as a result of vacillation and the failure to confront the real problems in society and organizations of associated labor, as a result of reducing to a minimum the practice of going in among workers and acquainting oneself on the spot with their problems and their views, not only on things that concern them most directly but also on all social questions. Usually when there is a work stoppage, committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection are

urgently convened and this, Ckrebic said, leads to the loss of the leading role of the LC and the role of the SAWP as a front for all socialist forces. And the trade union fades away in this, losing its identity, and that is why workers do not feel it is their organization to nearly the extent that it should be. The LC cannot shrug off these questions, but its members must be at the forefront of the struggle against abuse of self-management and its usurpation and bureaucratization.

On the problem of housing, which is becoming particularly exacerbated under the conditions of the current economic crisis, Ckrebic stressed that since the adoption of the long-term program of economic stabilization and the holding of the 13th LCY Congress, nothing major has been done in the implementation of the more important tasks in this field. The Anti-Inflation Program and economic policy for the next year merely state the intention to make more determined efforts in this area. Neither has an appropriate agreement been reached in society as to how to solve the problems of housing construction and achieve housing reform. That is why there should be a specific orientation toward the introduction of economic criteria in the field of housing and above all toward the gradual adjustment of rents to a level that ensures simple reproduction.

In an analysis of the conflict of opinions about the constant strengthening of state regulative measures by the adoption of programs of measures and annual economic policy on the one hand, and the achievement of this by respect for economic laws and market behavior, on the other, Ckrebic said that here perhaps the greatest ideopolitical differences on ways out of the economic crisis are displayed. Believing that this is a matter of differing conceptual approaches, he said that it is quite certain that these are primarily a case of differences in the current moment and of the dynamic approach. Then he said the whole matter is much more straightforward from the ideopolitical viewpoint as well, especially if the officially proposed approach were to begin to produce tangible results. The key question is, indeed, the abolition of the powerful state-property monopoly and various forms of statist and technocratic alienation of surplus labor. After all, the material position of associated labor has deteriorated from year to year, despite clear political stances.

In seeking a way out of the crisis, as Ckrebic put it, we may have to resort to combined measures accompanied by the opening up of a significant area for market activity. The moves that are being prepared for the period following the expiry of the temporary measures must rest on the philosophy of the market economy, full respect for the operation of economic laws and real economic categories, with an essential measure of planning guidelines for socioeconomic development. If all the administrative regulations from the time of the intervention measures continue to remain in force, then the odium for the methods of strengthening state compulsion would be profoundly justified. However, the LC takes the basic view that the degree of administrative measures must be reduced radically, following the operation of the intervention measures.

This is why it is vital to significantly reduce the administration and strengthen the autonomy of the collectives, because the current overgrown administration is also in the interests of the exaggerated management and technobureaucratic structures that lay the blame for all the failures, errors, lack of success, and losses with the state and system and live off doing this. This kind of indoctrination is now being transferred to the workers as well.

The LC, Ckrebic stressed, cannot accept any kind of concepts of emergence from the crisis unless they rest fundamentally on socialist self-management and the market character of our economy. This is the key and fateful question and the basic social criterion of all our moves and actions. There can be no shift away from this nor concessions made. In the realization of the long-term program of stabilization and the curbing of inflation, as the most immediate task, sociopolitical organizations and communists in them should get up off their backsides and increase in significant measure their activity and lead on all others by personal example. Today, in any case, there is a sharpening up of responsibility throughout society and in this the LC should [word indistinct].

Speaking generally about the discrepancy between orientations and practice, Ckrebic recalled that the stances of the 13th Congress are very exhaustive and clear and there is no possibility of their being interpreted differently, but despite this, they are not being implemented. The causes, he added, lie elsewhere, as the transition from declarative support for the long-term stabilization program to its implementation provokes numerous changes and problems in life and brings into question the current economic position of many organizations of associated labor, placing all collectives before the test of the confirmation of their own economic efficiency and their success on the domestic and foreign market. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium will very soon have to carry out an analysis of the realization of its own conclusions and on the basis of this improve the content, method, and organization of work. This should also be done by LC central and provincial committees. The stances and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, except for the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee, are not sufficiently present in them, Ckrebic said.

An answer should be found to this and many other questions. Among them is the constantly weakening position of workers in disposable income. As a result, their dissatisfaction is also growing. This is also reflected in social activities (education, health, culture, science) where the feeling is growing that their relationship with an staticized structure and numerous self-managing communities of interest is one of being wage laborers. One of the most important political questions is the

stagnation of the development of socialist self-management, which is, perhaps, the most difficult truth of this time, Ckrebic stressed. It is only the logical consequence of today's bad material position of associated labor and growing statism at all levels, which must be changed.

Having pointed out the importance of a more decisive implementation of the announced changes in our economic system, Dusan Ckrebic said that there is some justification for the fact that those changes that depend on constitutional amendments have not been carried out. However, even those changes whose implementation has been possible for quite some time are not being carried out. He drew attention to some differences of the ideopolitical character that should be coordinated, especially as regards the system of extended reproduction, involvement of additional foreign accumulation, in the monetary-credit and foreign currency system and also in the taxation, contribution and income-distribution systems. It is difficult not to see, Ckrebic stressed, our hesitation, lack of resolve, and our futile search for perfection and abstract reflections. We require solutions that advance our society. To resolve these issues, intensifying the involvement of the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and the LCY Conference, due to be held shortly, is required. Let us identify these issues and seek acceptable solutions to open up the prospects. Let all this be played on a public stage so that it can be seen who is advocating what, what arguments are being put forward in support, and what is being offered by way of recompense, and to see who is ready to bear responsibility for the consequences, was the plea made by Ckrebic.

In his introductory report, Ckrebic particularly pleaded for a faster adoption of development strategies and for the development of small businesses, stressing that this is possible in conditions of far greater affirmation of the market and of the economic criteria of business operations.

Having referred to the fact that most of our most distinguished economies have conceptually significant observations and a very serious criticism to make on the way the realization of the long-term stabilization program is being tackled and a number of specific proposals for its more consistent implementation, Ckrebic stressed that the group of participants in drafting the proposals and solutions should be extended significantly because to get out of the crisis, and especially out of the period of intervention measures, we badly require collective knowledge and wisdom. It seems that our economic crisis is too deep to search for the right solutions exclusively within the quantum of the knowledge at the disposal in the organs of administration. In this connection, Ckrebic recalled the ancient saying: Man never loses his way as much as when he thinks he knows the way.

Vucje Textile Workers Return to Work

LD042339 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Summary] Leskovac, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Production resumed at the Vucje textile industry near Leskovac today after a 24-hour strike. A working group was set up to examine the system of compensation and to propose changes. The workers demanded the resignations of their director and his deputy.